The Forum

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THE BUSINESS WORLD *vs.* THE POLITICIANS.

THE discussion of the monetary system of the Government during the past months, if unfruitful in legislation, has not been without beneficial results to the people. It is not extravagance to say that never within the same period of time have so many men in public and in private life been so willing to take a positive stand and to announce without reserve their adherence to principles which are not only essential to a safe monetary system but absolutely necessary to the promotion of the people's welfare and the maintenance of public credit. The citizen is awakening to the importance of these things as factors in his material prosperity; and he has not coldly calculated the effect of his declarations on the fortunes of his political party. Such action is now left only to the politician who is too dull to perceive that the very things which will henceforth be dominant in determining a monetary system are the business considerations which, without regard to political parties, are certain to act in unison for the preservation of national credit and of rightful individual interests.

The man who does not know and feel that every day this sentiment is growing stronger and steadily crystallizing into a public opinion which must prove irresistible, is a poor reader of the columns of the press, an inappreciative hearer of conversations by plain citizens the country over, and he is not a frequenter of places of business. It is a mistake to suppose that an unfavorable vote in Congress upon a sound measure carries with it public approval, or of itself reconciles the public to the endurance of a condition of things in the business world which every thoughtful citizen is certain not only ought not to exist, but would not exist if the law-making powers were more

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given to the furtherance of financial legislation inherently correct, and less given to that which seems merely politic in its character and promotive of special interests.

The great service which President Cleveland has just done the country has not been in pointing out the evils which afflict our financial body and suggesting the remedies necessary to rid us of them, but in his directing and fixing the attention of the business interests of the country upon the fact that a commercial and industrial revival cannot be expected, or continuing loss to every citizen prevented, or national and individual financial credit and integrity maintained, or ultimate disaster averted, until the legislative branch of the Government repeals laws which are now working harm and enacts others which will prove of public benefit. However any citizen may differ with the President upon political questions, the great majority of the American people must, when the doubt which now envelops the country's financial integrity and its ability to maintain the world's commercial monetary standard is dispelled, credit him with a courage strong enough to have led him to do the right thing because it was right, despite strenuous opposition or but half-hearted support within his own party and antagonism from the other party. It is safe to say that when partisan zeal and rancor have yielded to a judgment based upon truth and justice, those that are now his bitterest enemies will concede that he displayed statesmanship in a great crisis, and proved equal to the emergency.

The present conditions of the business world ought not to exist. That they do exist is evidence that either in our methods of doing business, in our extravagance of expenditure and in our speculation, in the Government's financial system, or in the tone which has characterized our monetary legislation proposed or enacted, there is something radically wrong and harmful. In the midst of great plenty the American people to-day feel poor. With no tariff agitation going on and the manufacturer in possession of a complete knowledge of the basis upon which he must operate, industry languishes and the laborer in many places is without employment. In every financial institution there is an abundance of money or the representative of money seeking investments, and yet few investments are made or desired. Upon the one side credit is little sought, and upon the other reluctantly given. A stagnation long continued is yet upon us and will remain until our own people impart activity to trade, and other peoples who are dealing with and extending credit to us feel confi-

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dence that they can do so with perfect safety. Unquestionably for some years many of our business methods have been of such a character as to lessen confidence in the management of many of our great enterprises. This is especially true in the over-capitalization and the fraudulent manipulation of railroad and kindred corporations; but the effect of this has long been anticipated and is not now so much the original source of harm. The result of undue extravagance in living and speculation was shown in a greater or less degree in the liquidation of 1893 and since; but neither one nor all of these causes could produce the present phenomena.

It would be foolish to undertake to conceal that the source of our difficulty lies in the fear, which happily has not reached the point of a belief, that the United States cannot in the face of existing laws maintain the gold standard as its unit of value. The faintest suspicion that it will not now or in the future meet its obligations in conformity with that fine sense of financial integrity which has heretofore been observed, gives the business world such a shock that we witness on every hand a cessation of new undertakings and a constant query as to our future. There is no relief for this situation in the great individual wealth of our individual citizens, nor in their individual desire to maintain their credit. The unlimited resources of the country and the unbounded energies of the people are in and of themselves equally unavailing in giving aid and comfort. The fault lies in our Government and not in the rule of conduct which guides each individual as an individual. Until the national fault is eradicated, the individual must continue to suffer for his country's folly both in purse and in reputation. Those abroad who deal with us take their estimate of our individual financial integrity from the integrity of our Government. They do not rank the individual American's honesty higher than his Government's honesty, and they will not believe him willing to pay his contracts in gold if his Government substitutes therefor a discredited metal, giving in real value but a portion of its purport value and the balance in governmental fiat.

Unfortunately the Government under the exigencies of the Civil War found itself driven into intimate and close relations with every business interest of the country. Through currency issues, banking, revenue, tariff, and kindred laws that association has so grown that to-day it is the controlling force in the American business world. Every governmental act of a financial character is reflected in the trade operations both of our people and those dealing with us. The

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money-lender, the merchant, and the foreign investor dealing with citizens of the United States, before acting wait to know what the Government of the United States will do with its contracts; they note laws upon the statute-book touching our governmental and other obligations; and they observe the trend of suggested and enacted legislation and take account of prevailing public opinion upon monetary questions. Properly to appreciate and intelligently to act upon questions touching our monetary standard and affecting the nation's financial integrity, therefore, the overshadowing importance and influence of the Government in the daily business affairs of the citizens must be reckoned with; and he who leaves it out of his calculations is poorly equipped for making or enforcing the people's financial laws or conducting his own individual business operations.

A second consideration, and one too frequently lost sight of, is, that ours is a *debtor* and not a *creditor* nation, and that we least of all peoples can afford to cheapen our monetary standard and to lessen our credit. Here no sentimentalism can possibly enter. The question is not whether we ought to go back to the dollar of the fathers, to protect the silver-mine owners, or to undertake to maintain two metals of unequal value always at the same value. The question is rather whether or not we can afford to kill our credit with those who buy our railroad securities, and to whom at every turn we look when money is to be borrowed. Only creditor nations can afford a questionable monetary standard, a debtor nation never. It may be patriotic to boast of an American monetary standard, independence of other countries, and complete national individualism; but at a time when the American people are borrowing and not lending, these things, if attainable, could bring nothing but unprecedented panic and ruin. It will be time enough to have a silver standard when the citizens of the United States are buying the government and railroad securities of Great Britain, France, and Germany, are lending to foreigners American money, and investing in their enterprises. So long as the contrary situation exists our people must remain, though it hurts the intense Americanism of some of them, without choice in the matter.

Every law upon the statute-book, therefore, which tends to make at any time the Government's credit in the least doubtful must injuriously affect every business relation and work loss to every citizen whether or not we maintain the gold standard. Almost equally effective as a cause of weakness and distrust must be the continual suggestion of laws which would substitute either directly or in-

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directly a silver standard. Those who know the temper of the American people when they once realize financial danger do not believe such a standard will ever have the sanction of enacted law, but the hope of its friends lies in accomplishing through indirection what cannot be gained by them as a direct measure of legislation.

The observant citizen who notes the effect of events must see that the greatest danger to-day to every business interest and the cause of so much stagnation in bank, factory, shop, and store, is the legal-tender currency issues and compulsory re-issues by the Government. The operation of these issues moreover is the hope of the advocates of free coinage, and they are thus a double hindrance to the return of prosperity. They believe that through them a silver basis must ultimately be reached, and because of this they resist their payment and cancellation unless silver instead of bank notes shall be substituted in their stead. The daily question whether the Government can maintain a gold reserve adequate to meet these demand-obligations as they are presented, the anxiety arising from a fear of a "gold run" upon the Treasury, the necessity of resorting to a cumbersome statute in order to issue coin bonds to maintain the parity of the metals, the frequency of such issues,—all, coupled with the avowed hope of many free silver legislators of breaking down the Government's gold credit and reaching a silver basis, are working incalculable injury.

The legal-tender issues of the Government ought and must be redeemed and retired if we are to be rid of the recurring danger and loss arising from their being a part of our currency issues. They are demand-obligations never retired, fixed as to volume, and from their inception a source of loss and expense to the people. Their most ardent advocate at the time they were issued apologized for their issue and promised quick payment of them. At the time of their issue not a dozen votes could have been obtained under other and different circumstances for the "legal-tender principle" that was given to these issues. Secretary Chase was dragooned only through dire necessity into giving his official sanction to them. He declined to advocate them in his report to Congress. It was stated and uncontradicted at the time that prior to them "not only was such a law never passed, but such a law was never voted on, never proposed, never introduced, never recommended by any Department of the Government; the measure was never seriously entertained in debate in either branch of Congress." One Representative graphically described these issues as "cheap in material, easy of issue, worked by steam,

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signed by machinery"; and he declared that "there would be no end to the legion of paper devils which shall pour forth from the loins of the Secretary." The present senior Senator from Vermont, Mr. Justin S. Morrill, then a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, in an extremely able speech characterized them as "the precursor of a prolific brood of promises," and the bill as "a measure not blessed by one sound precedent and damned by all."

Unhappily the temporary issues of that day, despite the appeals of Chief Executives and Secretaries of the Treasury, are yet a part of the fixed volume of our currency. From first to last they have been the greatest burden and most expensive debt ever placed upon the Government. The loss to the people through the speculation engendered by them, the financial heresies to which they have given birth, the damage to individual business enterprise and credit through recurring doubt as to the ability of the Government to maintain the payment of them in gold, cannot be reckoned in figures; but trustworthy statistics which have recently appeared in the "New York Times" show that the direct and indirect cost of maintaining them from their inception to the present has exceeded two and one-half billions of dollars. The expense already incurred to meet the payment of these obligations in gold and to maintain a proper gold reserve against their presentation may be shown by the accurate statement obtained from the Treasury, herewith given as a foot-note.[1]

It is claimed that when the revenues of the Government exceed

[1] Cost of the gold reserve, including liability for principal of bonds sold and interest thereon to their maturity:

Principal of bonds sold for resumption purposes:	
Sold in 1877 and 1878	$95,500,000
" " 1894	100,000,000
" " 1895	62,400,000
Total principal	$257,900,000
Interest at 4 per cent on the average amount of the free gold in the Treasury from Jan. 1, 1879, to Jan. 1, 1895	93,440,000
	$351,340,000
Interest from Jan. 1, 1895, to July 1, 1907, on $30,500,000 4 per cent bonds of 1907	15,250,000
Interest from Jan. 1, 1895, to Feb. 1, 1904, on $100,000,000 5 per cent bonds	45,416,666
Interest from Feb. 1, 1895 to Feb. 1, 1925, on $62,400,000 4 per cent bonds	74,880,000
Total cost including liability, except United States notes outstanding	$486,886,666

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the necessary expenditures bond issues will cease and no further trouble follow. The difficulty, however, goes beyond the question of revenue and touches the vital point, intrenching upon the confidence of those dealing with us in our ability to always pay these obligations in gold. Complete confidence cannot be restored by simply increasing the governmental income; but even if it could be thus restored there would be no guarantee against future impairment through the same cause. Under existing laws wherever there is disturbance in our business world the embarrassment is made two-fold greater by reason of the doubt of the proper payment of the Government's demand-currency obligations, and by reason of the taking of the gold for exportation. Temporary retirement of them will not do: as in the case of every other evidence of debt against the Government, they should be paid and cancelled.

It seems incredible that the law-making powers can believe that there is economy to the people in such needless waste. No loss from a contraction of the volume of the currency, if such contraction under the most adverse circumstances would follow, could equal the cost of maintaining these issues, and no extravagant interest upon bonds, if bonds were issued for payment and cancellation of them, could result in such an expense to the nation. In the light of all the facts, none can doubt that when the American people realize the expense attaching to the maintenance of this, the now only *non-interest*-bearing debt of the Government, they will demand of those who represent them in Congress that there be at once substituted for them a debt definite as to time of payment and one that when once paid may be completely extinguished. Such a debt would not lead unthinking men to believe that in the fiat of the Government is some magic power which from nothing can bring forth something of intrinsic value.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

Add amount of United States notes still outstanding	$346,681,016
Total cost and liability	$833,567,682

If the United States notes had been funded on January 1, 1879, into 30-year 4 per cent bonds of 1907, then being sold, the total cost to the Goverment therefor, including interest from Jan. 1, 1879, to July 1, 1907, would be as follows:

Principal of bonds	$346,681,000
Interest from Jan. 1, 1879 to July 1, 1907	395,216,340
	$741,897,340
Difference in favor of converting notes into bonds	$91,670,342

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OUR BLUNDERING FOREIGN POLICY.

To review the foreign policy of the United States during the past two years is not a cheerful task for any American. The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration, it must be admitted, has been uniform and simple; but these, after all, are only relative and not absolute merits. They may be characteristic of a bad as well as a good course of action, and in this case the course has been bad. Under the present Administration our foreign policy has been everywhere a policy of retreat and surrender. In war it is often more difficult, as well as more perilous, to retreat than to advance, but in diplomacy it is always easy to retreat even if it be disastrous, and there is never any difficulty in giving up to some one else. The general attitude of the Administration, however, can be best understood by a brief statement of some of the questions connected with our foreign relations with which it has dealt.

When Mr. Cleveland came into power he found a treaty for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands pending in the Senate. In the islands themselves the corrupt government of a semi-barbarous queen, who was controlled by the great sugar magnate, had been overthrown, and a provisional government had been established by Americans and Englishmen who represented almost all the wealth, intelligence, character, and civilization of the Hawaiian group. For the protection of American interests, American sailors and marines had been landed, and the American flag was flying over the government house. Without pausing to discuss the action of our minister and our naval officers prior to that time, it is beyond question that this condition of affairs was the natural and logical outcome of the uniform policy of the United States toward those islands. To maintain our influence and control in Hawaii, with final annexation as the result, had been the unbroken policy of the United States for fifty years. It had been the policy of Marcy and Seward, of Bayard and Blaine, and there had never been a party distinction or a political difference concerning it until Mr. Cleveland became President for the second time. All our treaties and all our dealings with Hawaii down to the fourth of March,

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1893, had tended in one direction. This well-settled policy and these established traditions Mr. Cleveland cast aside as if wholly unworthy of consideration. He withdrew the treaty of annexation in the Senate and sent a "paramount commissioner" of no diplomatic experience to Honolulu, nominally to investigate, but really, as events proved, to carry out a pre-arranged plan. That commissioner hauled down the American flag and ordered the American marines and blue-jackets back to their ships. The Administration then followed up this plan of breaking down American control by a determined effort to overthrow the provisional government and establish once more the corrupt rule of the deposed queen. The attempt failed, thanks to the vigor of President Dole and his associates, and to the indignation of the American people when the intrigue for the restoration of the queen was brought to light. Then, after long delays and with much reluctance, the Administration was finally forced to recognize the new Republic. But even this defeat, accompanied as it was by a resolution of the Senate which declared that the interference of any other nation with the Sandwich Islands would be regarded by the United States as an act of hostility, did not prevent a further manifestation of the enmity of the Administration to a government in Hawaii which was wholly in the American interest. In defiance of well-settled precedents, the Secretary of State received and the President communicated with certain conspirators against the established and recognized government of Hawaii who called themselves royal commissioners. It was known to every one last summer that a royalist rising was contemplated in the Islands, and yet despite this knowledge and the consequent danger of such an outbreak to American property and American citizens, despite the warning and advice of an able and distinguished naval officer, the President withdrew our man-of-war from Hawaii and thus gave opportunity and free course to the royalist movement. The insurrection came as had been predicted, and nothing but the energy and courage of the Republican government saved Hawaii from the restoration of the queen. With England reaching out for every island in the Pacific, and with British sympathy strongly manifested for the royalist government, this Administration has done everything in its power to break down our well-settled policy in regard to those islands, which are so essential to us, both commercially and from a military point of view. It has recommended that Congress assent to the gift of one of the islands to Great Britain for a telegraphic cable station, and has sought to destroy American influence by methods

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which, if persisted in, can result only in throwing the Hawaiian people into the arms of England.

Less important than Hawaii, Samoa is still of serious consequence to our military and commercial interests in the Pacific. Many years ago we unwisely declined the control of the islands, but we have had conceded to us there the important harbor of Pago-Pago, and the wisdom of maintaining not only a naval station, but our commercial influence in the Samoan group, has long been apparent. The discreditable story of our conduct there during Mr. Cleveland's first administration has been fully told by Mr. Sewall, and under President Harrison's administration we reversed that policy and made the Berlin treaty, by which we formed a joint protectorate with England and Germany over the Samoan Islands. The effort of this Administration has been to yield the position thus secured by treaty, to give up our hold and to abandon Samoa. Our men-of-war have been withdrawn so as to leave our interests without protection. Mr. Bayard declared in a speech in London that we would better get out of Samoa and turn it over to Sir John Thurston, the British governor of New Zealand, who was described by our ambassador as a very excellent man. The President has taken the same ground, and if it had not been for the attitude of the Emperor of Germany, we should have abandoned those islands to England before this. Mr. Gresham for his part set out to nullify the treaty of Berlin by failing to send in to Congress an estimate for the appropriation necessary to carry out the treaty provisions. This omission, however, created such an outcry that the estimate was finally sent in after the diplomatic bill had reached the Senate. The policy of the Administration in regard to Samoa, if it had not been for the perversity of the German Emperor and of public opinion in the United States, would have been a complete success, because in international affairs it is always so easy to surrender your own interests in favor of some other nation.

Our attitude toward the nations of the far East during the past year has presented the same characteristics as those shown in the cases of Samoa and Hawaii. It is not necessary to dwell upon that strange dispatch in which the Secretary of State roughly warned Japan, the most powerful and civilized of the Eastern peoples, that she ought not to make war on Corea at a time when she was planning to make war on China. This was a sufficiently curious bit of diplomacy, but it was creditable compared to our surrender of the Japanese students at Shanghai. We had undertaken, when war broke

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out between China and Japan, to exercise our good offices in behalf of Japanese citizens in China who were deprived of the protection of their own diplomatic representatives. Two young Japanese accused of being spies by the Chinese took refuge in our consulate in the foreign concession. Our *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Denby, and our consul, Mr. Jernigan, did all that could be done to save these two students, and would have succeeded, had it not been for the imperative orders of Mr. Gresham. Without requiring any investigation as to the truth of the charges against them, Mr. Gresham ordered these two young men to be given up to a certain and cruel death. Mr. Gresham, it is true, received an assurance from the Chinese minister that the Japanese would not be executed until the return of Mr. Denby to Pekin. But this is no excuse, for he ought to have known, what every intelligent schoolboy understands, that Asiatic standards of truth and honor, and Asiatic diplomacy, are utterly different from those of Europe and America, and that promises such as he accepted are of no binding force with an Oriental. Yet the Secretary of State seems actually to have put faith in the assurances of the Chinese minister, and the result was that these two students were executed, probably after hideous torture, before the return of our minister. This incident is a dark stain upon our national character for humanity and generosity.

A century ago, when terror reigned in Paris and the prisons ran with the blood of the September massacres, Gouverneur Morris, the American minister, did not hesitate, even at the risk of his own life and without instructions, to give shelter to Frenchmen who had been the friends of the United States. When France and Germany were at war and feeling was running high in Paris, Mr. Washburn did not hesitate, although he acted under instructions no broader than those given to Mr. Denby, to afford successful protection to Germans, whose lives were endangered by an excited populace. Mr. Morris and Mr. Washburn represented the true American policy. So, in justice be it said, did Mr. Denby. It was the abandonment of this policy by the present Administration which has blotted darkly our record for courageous humanity with the death of these two students.

In Armenia we did enough to be laughed at and too little to be effective. If we were going to interfere at all, we should have interfered to some purpose. Indeed, the desire of this Administration to retreat has been accompanied by the desire to meddle. We have been meddling where we had no business, and we have held aloof and surrendered where great interests of our own were at stake. We

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thrust ourselves in to advise Japan about Corea, but we have done nothing to check the continued aggressions of the British upon the territory of Venezuela, although those aggressions are a violation of the Monroe doctrine. We volunteered to arbitrate between Mexico and Guatemala, but we have not undertaken to interfere in any way between Great Britain, a strong power, and Venezuela, a weak one, although British subjects are violating in that region a principle which hitherto we have always most sacredly maintained.

The spirit of the Administration seems also to have entered into the legislation of the Democratic party in Congress. The Government of Canada is hostile to us. They lose no opportunity of injuring us. They keep open the question of the fisheries both in the Atlantic and Pacific, and complicate constantly our relations with Great Britain. Yet when the Democratic party passes a tariff, they select Canada as the country to be particularly favored. If Canada desires the advantages of our great markets, let her unite with us either entirely or as to tariffs. Until she does so, it is our obvious policy to exclude her from our markets and give her no advantages of any kind. For what the Democratic party voluntarily gave to Canada in the tariff, Canada would willingly have conceded to us many disputed points in other matters. Yet the Democratic party gave this great advantage to Canada *gratis*, and by so doing entirely abandoned American interests. Of all the blunders of the tariff there is nothing, with the exception of the abrogation of the reciprocity treaties, which is so deeply injurious to American interests as this throwing open our markets to the principal Canadian products, while Canada's tariff with all its discriminations against us remains unchanged.

The policy of the Democratic party toward Canada has been carried even further by Mr. Gresham in regard to the sugar bounty of Germany. We imposed, in the tariff of 1894 as in that of 1890, a duty to offset the German export bounty on sugar. Our reciprocity treaty having been overthrown, Germany has begun to discriminate against our products. Thereupon Mr. Gresham makes haste to say that we have no right to impose our countervailing sugar duty. The duty itself is of no moment, but the principle thus relinquished is of enormous consequence. If foreign countries can give export bounties and we cannot offset them by import duties, then we have lost one of our sovereign rights and foreign countries can control our tariffs. Mr. Gresham took this ground in the face of a directly op-

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posite opinion from the Attorney-General, and in the very teeth of the admission by the English and German representatives at the international sugar conference of 1888 that export bounties could be met by countervailing duties without violating the favored-nation clause. It seems difficult to imagine how any other view could be taken, yet so anxious is this Administration, apparently, to yield to any foreign demand that Mr. Gresham actually advised that we should abandon this obvious right belonging of necessity to any independent nation.

It is not possible within the limits of this article to touch upon all the points in the foreign policy of this Administration, but the outline which has just been given displays quite fully enough their attitude and is sufficiently depressing without any effort to elaborate details. The fact is that the performances of this Administration in regard to our foreign affairs are the culmination and last expression of a movement or tendency which has been for some time visible in our politics. It has grown to be the fashion of late to neglect our foreign relations and to treat them as of little or no consequence, and this unfortunate tendency has been greatly stimulated in recent years by the tariff reform or free trade agitation. The economic doctrines which the tariff reformers have been urging were of course borrowed from England, and all the queer and extraneous fantasies attached to those doctrines were borrowed with them. The theory of the Manchester school in its fullest development was not merely that free trade was economically correct, but that if universally applied it would prove to be a panacea for all human ills, that it meant universal peace, and that all such things as armies, navies, war, territorial extension, or national expansion must be stopped because they were likely to interfere with the complete freedom of trade. England, however much she may have solemnly preached this stuff, was not caught by it at all, for she never allows adherence to theory or foolish love of consistency to interfere with her interests. The English are eminently practical, and however much they like a theory they never apply it to their own disadvantage. They adopted a free trade tariff because they believed it would pay, and have given high protective bounties to their shipping for the same reason. They worshipped loudly at the shrine of the Manchester school, but the effort of that school to curb the conquering and colonizing spirit of the race failed none the less. Disraeli raised the visible monument of their defeat when he made the Queen of England Empress of India.

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The free traders of this country, however, are only imitators, and, as is very apt to be the case with mimics, they are much more rigidly consistent than their models in carrying our their pet theories to absurd and dangerous extremes carefully shunned by the original proprietors. Despite the efforts of Cobden and his followers, England has gone on in her career of territorial extension, accompanied with a good deal of fighting and sustained by an army and navy, but our free traders, not content with urging their economic views, have undertaken at the same time to break down the American spirit and to prevent our defending our own interests in other parts of the world. Take up any of the few newspapers "consecrated" to tariff reform or free trade, look at the speeches of their orators or the writings of those of them whom they always refer to as "thinkers" or "publicists," and you will find everywhere the same note. Everywhere there is opposition and abuse for the navy and sneers at any attempt to uphold the rights of the United States against another nation. By these people the words American and Americanism are put in quotation marks and treated as opprobrious and dishonoring epithets, and patriotism is held up as vulgar and something to which no well-bred person should refer. It is no doubt true that these thorough-going disciples of the Manchester school are but an infinitesimal fraction of the great American people, who are deeply patriotic and feel a profound pride in their country. None the less, these survivals of the Cobden period have had a considerable power for harm. They have perverted some educated but not very efficient people, and they have managed to get possession of the official leaders of a great political organization. The manner in which they have Cobdenized the Democratic party is a signal and painful proof of their success in this direction, and when the history of that party is remembered this will be seen to be a very remarkable performance.

All the great constructive legislation of this country, with hardly an exception, has been the work of the Republican party and its predecessors. The Federalists organized the Government; the Whigs developed our industries and set on foot our great system of internal improvements; the Republicans maintained the Union, abolished slavery, placed the last great Amendments on the Constitution, and established our credit and our tariff. The record of the Democratic party for constructive legislation, on the other hand, despite their many years of power, is singularly barren. But there is one direction where the Democratic party has done a great work. The Republi-

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cans under the lead of Charles Sumner added Alaska to our domain, but with this exception all our great acquisitions of territory have been the work of Democrats. To them we owe the Louisiana purchase, Florida, Texas, and the Mexican cession. If the Democratic party has had one cardinal principle beyond all others, it has been that of pushing forward the boundaries of the United States. Under this Administration, governed as it is by free-trade influences, this great principle of the Democratic party during nearly a century of existence has been utterly abandoned. Thomas Jefferson, admitting that he violated the Constitution while he did it, effected the Louisiana purchase, but Mr. Cleveland has labored to overthrow American interests and American control in Hawaii. Andrew Jackson fought for Florida, but Mr. Cleveland is eager to abandon Samoa. The Democratic party, in its leaders at least, has been successfully Cobdenized, and that is the underlying reason for their policy of retreat. It is the melancholy outcome of the doctrine that there is no higher aim or purpose for men or for nations than to buy and sell, to trade jack-knives and make everything cheap. No one underrates the importance of the tariffs or the still greater importance of a sound currency. But of late years we have been so absorbed in these economic questions that we have grown unmindful of others. We have had something too much of these disciples of the Manchester school, who think the price of calico more important than a nation's honor, the duties on pig iron of more moment than the advance of a race.

It is time to recall what we have been tending to forget: that we have always had and that we have now a foreign policy which is of great importance to our national well-being. The foundation of that policy was Washington's doctrine of neutrality. To him and to Hamilton we owe the principle that it was not the business of the United States to meddle in the affairs of Europe. When this policy was declared, it fell with a shock upon the Americans of that day, for we were still colonists in habits of thought and could not realize that the struggles of Europe did not concern us. Yet the establishment of the neutrality policy was one of the greatest services which Washington and Hamilton rendered to the cause of American nationality. The corollary of Washington's policy was the Monroe doctrine, the work of John Quincy Adams, a much greater man than the President whose name it bears. Washington declared that it was not the business of the United States to meddle in the affairs of Europe, and John Quincy Adams added that Europe must not meddle

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in the Western hemisphere. As I have seen it solemnly stated recently that the annexation of Hawaii would be a violation of the Monroe doctrine, it is perhaps not out of place to say that the Monroe doctrine has no bearing on the extension of the United States, but simply holds that no European power shall establish itself in the Americas or interfere with American governments.

The neutrality policy and the Monroe doctrine are the two great principles established at the outset by far-seeing statesmen in regard to the foreign relations of the United States. But it would be a fatal mistake to suppose that our foreign policy stopped there, or that these fundamental propositions in any way fettered the march of the American people. Washington withdrew us from the affairs of Europe, but at the same time he pointed out that our true line of advance was to the West. He never for an instant thought that we were to remain stationary and cease to move forward. He saw, with prophetic vision, as did no other man of his time, the true course for the American people. He could not himself enter into the promised land, but he showed it to his people, stretching from the Blue Ridge to the Pacific Ocean. We have followed the teachings of Washington. We have taken the great valley of the Mississippi and pressed on beyond the Sierras. We have a record of conquest, colonization, and territorial expansion unequalled by any people in the nineteenth century. We are not to be curbed now by the doctrines of the Manchester school which have never been observed in England, and which as an importation are even more absurdly out of place here than in their native land. It is not the policy of the United States to enter, as England has done, upon the general acquisition of distant possession in all parts of the world. Our government is not adapted to such a policy, and we have no need of it, for we have an ample field at home; but at the same time it must be remembered that while in the United States themselves we hold the citadel of our power and greatness as a nation, there are outworks essential to the defence of that citadel which must neither be neglected nor abandoned.

There is a very definite policy for American statesmen to pursue in this respect if they would prove themselves worthy inheritors of the principles of Washington and Adams. We desire no extension to the south, for neither the population nor the lands of Central or South America would be desirable additions to the United States. But from the Rio Grande to the Arctic Ocean there should be but one flag and one country. Neither race nor climate forbids this extension,

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and every consideration of national growth and national welfare demands it. In the interests of our commerce and of our fullest development we should build the Nicaragua canal, and for the protection of that canal and for the sake of our commercial supremacy in the Pacific we should control the Hawaiian Islands and maintain our influence in Samoa. England has studded the West Indies with strong places which are a standing menace to our Atlantic seaboard. We should have among those islands at least one strong naval station, and when the Nicaragua canal is built, the island of Cuba, still sparsely settled and of almost unbounded fertility, will become to us a necessity. Commerce follows the flag, and we should build up a navy strong enough to give protection to Americans in every quarter of the globe and sufficiently powerful to put our coasts beyond the possibility of successful attack.

The tendency of modern times is toward consolidation. It is apparent in capital and labor alike, and it is also true of nations. Small States are of the past and have no future. The modern movement is all toward the concentration of people and territory into great nations and large dominions. The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defence all the waste places of the earth. It is a movement which makes for civilization and the advancement of the race. As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march.

For more than thirty years we have been so much absorbed with grave domestic questions that we have lost sight of these vast interests which lie just outside our borders. They ought to be neglected no longer. They are not only of material importance, but they are matters which concern our greatness as a nation and our future as a great people. They appeal to our national honor and dignity and to the pride of country and of race. If the humiliating foreign policy of the present Administration has served to call attention to these questions and to remind us that they are quite as important at least as tariffs or currency, it will perhaps prove to have been a blessing in disguise. When we face a question of foreign relations it should never be forgotten that we meet something above and beyond party politics, something that rouses and appeals to the patriotism and the Americanism of which we never can have too much, and of which during the last two years our Government has shown altogether too little.

H. C. LODGE.

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WHAT WOULD I DO WITH THE TARIFF IF I WERE CZAR?

I RATHER like the swing of the question, and I proceed to reply. The estimated expenditure of the National Government according to Secretary Carlisle's report for the present fiscal year is $424,000,000, and the estimated receipts $404,000,000, leaving a deficit of $20,000,000. He estimates that next year there will be a surplus of $30,000,000, assuming the expenditure to be the same.

The decrease in the cost of pensions this fiscal year over last is no less than $18,000,000, and very soon every year the percentage of decrease must become greater. The navy will require less expenditure upon it than in future years, and the increase in population and wealth will give increased revenues of themselves, so that there is no cause for alarm in regard to the expenditures and revenues of the Government after the next year, although the Secretary is probably much oversanguine as to receipts under present laws for this year.

Of Government revenues, the tariff is estimated to yield $160,000,000 this year, and is estimated to yield $190,000,000 next year; and the question is, What would I do about the tariff if I had supreme power?

First, my aim would be to keep free of duty the necessaries of life used by the many, and to tax highly the luxuries of the few. The masses who wear and consume home products I should not tax, but the luxurious man and woman of fashion who will wear at whatever cost the fine woollens and the exquisitely fine silks and the delicately fine linens of Europe should pay the tariff duties. This small rich class under the new tariff would be made much more fashionable by paying perhaps double the present duties. The American masses who use American tobacco and cigars should find no higher tax upon these than at present; but the rich and luxurious gentlemen whose delicate nostrils require the perfume of the Havana, should become more profitable to the state by paying at least double the present duty. The champagne and rare old wine drinkers and purchasers of rare old or rare new foreign china and glass, perfum-

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eries, and similar articles *de luxe* should be able to boast with perfect truth of their enhanced value. It should never be forgotten that imported articles are used by the rich few, and home products by the masses.

The increased duties proposed upon foreign articles *de luxe* would not be levied with a view to protection, but purely for revenue. That incidentally this policy might slightly benefit the manufacturers at home would not be considered an objection; but this advantage, if any, could be but slight, since the superfine qualities of wool, silk, and linen goods are not made here, nor are the high-priced wines, cigars, and hundreds of fancy articles. Home manufacturers, however, almost completely control the market for goods of ordinary quality, which are those used by the masses.

The reverse of this has hitherto been the policy adopted. A page could be filled with a list of the luxuries of the rich upon which the taxes have been reduced by the new tariff. Here are a few reductions: china reduced 50 per cent, glass-plate and stained glass 40, gold pens 16, clocks 28, hats 72, knit fabrics 72, flannel 68, silk umbrellas 18, brandy and cordials 28, silks 40, gloves 30, comfits, jellies, etc., laces, embroideries, etc., 16, woollens and silks 10 to 20, owing to *ad valorem* instead of specific duties. Under the present tariff the rich man of fashion wears his superfine foreign broadcloth, superfine linen, silk hat, kid gloves, fine silk umbrella, sips his costly glass of rare old wine, from 20 to 70 per cent less than the former duty upon these superfluous luxuries. His grand dame plays her fan, flourishes her embroidered handkerchief, displays her exquisite laces, and arrays herself in superb silks at equal reductions, with many smiles and thanks to the newly arisen friend of the people, the charming and brilliant young West Virginian, who apologizes for his failure to reduce the duties upon the champagne she offers him, explaining that this was not his fault as his bill originally provided for its reduction also. Hundreds of fancy articles made of wool, silk and linen are now under reduced duties. These reductions, as we shall see later, embrace articles *de luxe* which furnish two-thirds of the entire revenue from the tariff. Not one workingman in the whole land uses these luxuries. Such is "tariff reform" up to date, and thus is the "burden of taxation removed from the masses of the people." Strange delusion! The taxes are removed only from the rich.

This is not a party question, for neither party has made the pri-

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mary object of the tariff the collection of the revenue from the luxuries of the rich regardless of either free trade or protection. A proper tariff would replace the burden upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, and much higher rates would be imposed upon these articles than have ever yet been charged.

It is a mistake to assume that the use of luxuries would be seriously lessened owing to higher rates of duties. On the contrary, one element of fashionable use is great cost. The imports would be lessened if duties were raised upon articles of general consumption used by the masses, because one article could be substituted for another and the cost is always carefully considered. But this does not apply strongly to luxuries, which are chiefly matters of taste and fashion and are purchased solely by the rich, to whom price is not the first consideration. To double the tax upon champagne, for instance, or upon fine foreign china, woollens, silks, linens, laces, embroideries, etc., would not greatly deter the rich class from purchasing. The reduction in the amount consumed would probably not much more than equal the ordinary increase arising from the increase of population and wealth. The amount of additional duty received, therefore, would soon be substantially the amount imposed. But even if the higher taxes reduced the use of the foreign products one-fourth for a time, the revenues would still be one-fourth more were the taxes doubled. Should, however, a considerable reduction in consumption take place, so much the better. There is a silver lining to that cloud, for so much more of the wealth of the country would be used for the purchase of home products, or, at least, not spent in luxurious living. It might be claimed that the home manufacturer would finally produce the finest qualities of textile goods if the foreign goods were highly taxed. So be it, and so much the better for the country if he did; but it would take years before he could do so, and long before this, the natural increase of the revenues from increased population and wealth would meet any reduction of imports. In a few years the decrease in pensions—the great drain at present—will relieve the Government from the necessity to collect as much revenue.

Tariff duties as follows were collected in 1892 on foreign importations of the luxuries of the rich:

Wool manufactures	.....	$32,293,609
Silk "	.....	16,965,637
Cotton "	.....	16,436,733

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Flax manufactures	$10,066,636
Glass and china	10,339,000
Wines, liquors, etc.	8,935,000
Tobacco and cigars	11,882,557

Here are $106,000,000 of revenue from seven classes of luxuries, and here are a few others which netted more than $8,000,000 additional—jewelry, carriages, artificial flowers, clocks, brushes, paper, perfumeries, musical instruments—making $114,000,000 revenue collected from imports out of the total of $177,000,000. To reduce duties upon articles which are all luxuries of the rich, furnishing two-thirds of the whole tariff revenue, is the chief result of the Wilson act.

The statement cannot be disputed that these articles were not imported for the use of the masses of the people. With woollen manufactures, as those of silk, the masses of the people of the United States are supplied by the home manufacturer almost exclusively. The only class which uses imported cloths, and foreign glass and china, and foreign wines and tobacco, is the rich. To prevent the charge being made that the articles used to any extent by the masses might be made dearer by the increased duties, the bill should provide that woollen, silk, and linen cloths of common grades should be exempt from the higher duties. Substantially none but the high grades is imported, but this clause would disarm criticism. Had even the duties of 1892 been retained upon these luxuries of the few, the present deficiency in the revenues would have been much less than now disturbs the national exchequer. We have here a rich mine, indeed, which should be drawn from when the next tariff legislation is undertaken. Were the duties upon these luxuries doubled, and another $114,000,000 collected, or if the increased taxes diminished consumption by one-fourth and the Government obtained but half the increase, as it still would in that extreme case, then we would have taken, say, $57,000,000 of taxation from the shoulders of the toiling masses and placed it upon those of the luxurious, pleasure-loving, extravagant class who can be made to pay for their extravagance with benefit to themselves and to the nation. If 50 per cent additional duty were tried, the revenues would soon be increased to almost the whole of the extra tax. This is neither protection nor free trade, and has nothing to do with either. It is simply a question of revenue. And it is submitted that in no way can the necessary revenue be so wisely obtained as from foreign luxuries consumed only by the rich and

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most extravagant class of the people. My tariff would about double present duties upon all these luxuries.

When brought face to face with the fact that the principal change produced by the Wilson bill was thus to reduce duties upon two-thirds of the total tariff revenues exclusively for the benefit of the rich, who alone use imported goods, one asks how so able, honest, zealous, and pure a man as Mr. Wilson could represent himself as "lifting the unnecessary burden of onerous tariff taxation from the masses of the people"—the explanation is easy: he was inexperienced. He had not studied the question. I very much doubt whether he would to-day produce a measure so foreign to his published intentions. It is a matter of serious import that such a man as he is relegated to private life simply because one district votes for another. Our custom of choosing only Representatives resident in the district loses us many invaluable men. Mr. Wilson is to-day capable of performing work of the best character, because he has now the only quality he lacked before—knowledge of affairs. We need just such men as he in public life, and I for one hope for his speedy return to it. Some day he will advocate a tariff, I believe, upon the floor of the House, which will tax higher the luxuries of the few, not reduce duties—solely for their benefit.

Few perhaps understand to what extent foreign textile articles are for the rich only. Take woollen goods, for instance: in 1890 the value of the home-manufactured product was $338,000,000. The high-priced foreign fine woollens were imported to the value of only $35,500,000. Their value per yard was much greater than that of the ordinary qualities produced at home, so that the number of yards probably was not more than 6 or 7 per cent of the total consumption. We have a similar result with cotton: the value of the home-manufactured product in 1890 was $268,000,000, and the total amount imported was valued at only $28,000,000. Even in regard to silks imported, the manufactured product of American mills in 1890 was valued at $69,000,000, the total imported silk manufactures $31,000,000 only. These also are of much higher value per yard than the home product. Since 1890 the silk manufacturers of America have gained greatly, and are constantly filling the home demands more completely.

If the foreign woollens, silks, and linens were classified as to fineness and value, it would be seen that goods of common grades, such as the people generally use, are no longer imported. Nor can they

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be to any considerable extent even under the present act. So far has the American manufacturer conquered his own market. There is another point bearing upon this matter: a very great proportion of all textile importations consist not of cloth in the yard, but of special fancy textile articles,—braids, laces, trimmings, embroideries,—which are not manufactured at all at home.

In regard to coal and iron ore, so-called raw materials, the new tariff should make no further reductions, because a reduction of nearly one-half of the duty at one time, just made, is serious, and time is needed before any industry can adjust itself to so great a change. Besides, the tax of forty cents per ton upon ore and thirty cents per ton upon coal is comparatively trifling. This applies to iron and steel generally, which have suffered two reductions recently; for the McKinley act reduced these as much as the Wilson act did—about 30 per cent in each case. Making cotton-ties free of duty when all other forms of steel were left dutiable is the greatest blot upon the present tariff—a piece of pure sectionalism, the bane of the Federal system. One-half of the former duty should be restored.

Works of Art should remain free of duty, and the frames of pictures, now dutiable, should also be made free. The trifling sums levied upon these at present are nothing; but the trouble and delay caused by assessing the value of each frame will tend to discourage importations of art treasures, almost all of which find their permanent resting-place sooner or later in public galleries, and thus become the precious possessions of the people.

One important point in the tariff receives not one tithe of the attention it deserves—that paragraph which permits all parties to import materials and to use them in making any article for export. Ninety-nine per cent of all duties are in this case remitted. This is statesmanship and deserves to rank with reciprocity as a valuable step toward securing extended trade for the Republic. This should be incorporated in my supposed tariff, except that I should remit the remaining 1 per cent also, so that the American manufacturer would stand free to avail himself of the markets of the world, for what he purchases for export, upon free-trade terms, and thus come into the world's markets with what he has to sell upon equal terms in competition with the manufacturers of Europe. When writers and speakers descant upon the exclusion of the American manufacturer from the markets of the world owing to protective duties, they are probably ignorant of the fact that at present he is

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under free-trade conditions as to his materials, minus 1 per cent of the duties which the Government withholds to pay the cost of accounting. The new tariff would disarm criticism upon this point by omitting also the trifling 1 per cent. American manufacturers would then have every advantage of free trade in struggling for the markets of the world.

Such qualities of foreign wool as cannot be produced in our country, owing to climatic causes, and yet are valuable for mixtures with our home product, would remain free of duty.

There would be no income tax. I know of no statesman or authority who does not denounce an income tax as the most objectionable of all taxes. Mr. Gladstone once appealed to the country upon this subject alone, denouncing it as tending to make a nation of liars. While it is in theory a just tax, in practice it is the source of such demoralization as renders it perhaps the most pernicious form of taxation which has ever been conceived since human society has settled into peaceful government. Any measure is justifiable in time of war, but the only excuse for an income tax is imperative necessity. There is at present no such necessity. The Government revenues must soon produce a surplus over expenditures, if from no other cause than the increase of population and wealth, and they can be made to do so now, as previously pointed out, by taxing higher only the extravagances of the few.

The question of sugar is important. Raw sugar, molasses, etc., would be taxed, subject, however, to admitting these free from such countries as give us satisfactory advantages in return, which would practically make them all free. The United States holds an immense power in her use of $120,000,000 worth of these articles annually, purchased chiefly from our sister Republics of South America, and from Cuba. It should be wisely used to give her access to their markets in return upon better terms than other nations. A bounty upon home-grown sugar would be given for the present by the new tariff in the hope that this country might ultimately succeed in producing its own supply. The beet-root and sorghum experiment should not yet be abandoned.

The policy of reciprocity would be restored to the fullest extent. The increase in our exports of articles to countries under reciprocity treaties proves that Mr. Blaine was correct in his belief that by means of this system, ably managed, we have taken the best step that can be taken to give our country foreign trade which it cannot otherwise secure. I believe in getting something in return from countries to

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which we open our markets to sugar, molasses, and tobacco, because we have proved that it can be obtained.

Although I am opposed to taxing the food and the necessaries of the people, I should make an exception in regard to products of Canada, and this without regard to the doctrines of either free-trade or protection, but as a matter of high politics. I think we betray a lack of statesmanship in allowing commercial advantages to a country which owes allegiance to a foreign power founded upon monarchical institutions which may always be trusted at heart to detest the Republican idea. If Canada were free and independent and threw in her lot with this continent, it would be a different matter. So long as she remains upon our flank a possible foe, not upon her own account, but subject to the orders of a European Power, and ready to be called by that Power to exert her forces against us even upon issues that may not concern Canada, I should let her distinctly understand that we view her as a menace to the peace and security of our country, and I should treat her accordingly. She should not be in the Union and out of the Union at the same time, if I could prevent it. Therefore, I should tax highly all her products entering the United States; and this I should do, not in dislike for Canada but for love of her, in the hope that it would cause her to realize that the nations upon this Continent are expected to be American nations, and, I trust, finally one nation so far as the English-speaking portion is concerned. I should use the rod not in anger but in love; but I should use it. She would be either a member of the Republic, or she should stand for her own self, responsible for her conduct in peace and in war, as other nations are responsible, and she should not shield herself by calling to her aid a foreign Power. This is, as I have said, neither free-trade nor protection, but it does bear upon the subject of the tariff. I would tax Canadian articles so long as Canada continued the subordinate of a European Power.

The new tariff bill should provide that it is passed with the understanding and consent of both political parties that no further tariff legislation should be undertaken for ten years. Just as we take a census every ten years, we should revise the tariff, say the second year after the census is taken, because we could then act understandingly. If, for instance, the imports of any article not exclusively used by the rich few, but of general consumption, compared with the amount of that article made at home, proved that the home manufacturer had almost completely driven the foreign manu-

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facturer out of our market, the duty upon that article could be reduced. If, on the other hand, the statistics proved that the imports of an article had remained as before or had increased in comparison with the amount of the production at home, the duties upon that article could be increased. It would be impossible for the home manufacturer or the foreign importer to influence the decision, because we should have the figures which proved the situation. No one could gainsay them. Of course the question would be considered whether the home producer had shown that it was finally possible to produce the article in question at home so that it could ultimately be obtained by consumers upon favorable terms as compared with those obtainable from foreign sources. If a committee, appointed for the purpose of tariff revision, were satisfied that the manufacture of the article in question was proved not suitable for this part of the world, it would then be wise to "protect" it no longer and to make the article free of duty, or to tax it for revenue only.

The attitude in which the committee should approach the subject of revision should be that in which a lover of the country approaches the question of felling a tree. It should consider always, as I know the lover of the country considers, how easy it is to cut down the noble tree he loves, how impossible to restore it. It matters comparatively little to the country whether there be 5 or 10 per cent more duty upon a foreign article for a few years than required. But it makes all the difference whether there be 5 or 10 per cent less than is necessary to enable the struggling home manufacturer to continue the contest which may ultimately result in victory. In tariff legislation, the rule should be, in all cases of doubt, to take the safe side. In a committee devoted to this duty there would seem to be little play for partisanship, as its functions would partake of a judicial character. The end aimed at by all would be to obtain a home supply of such articles of general consumption as can finally be produced under the flag, through temporary protection, so successfully as to supply the consumer upon terms as favorable as could be obtained if dependent upon a supply from any other part of the world. Wherever it is demonstrated that the United States cannot produce this result in regard to any article, then, but not till then, should protection be abandoned, and revenue only considered. With articles, however, which are the luxuries of the few, upon which the Wilson bill has greatly reduced duties, I hold that neither free-trade nor protection should have anything to do. Upon these the tax should be exces-

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sively high, solely for revenue—high to the point of almost lessening the aggregate revenue collectible upon them; and no other consideration should have weight in levying the duties, for revenue is the end desired.

I am confident that this point will not be reached before the present tariff rates are doubled on those things which have been enumerated as luxuries, which yield two-thirds of all tariff revenue; and I am equally certain that Secretary Carlisle's belief that the lower duties of the Wilson act upon these articles for the few will greatly increase their use is a mistake. The consumption of the luxuries of the rich can be increased or diminished by any change of duties only to a degree so slight as to surprise theorists, because their cost is not the first consideration.

To sum up—

First: Duties should be collected chiefly from foreign luxuries used by the extravagant rich class without regard to free trade or protection, but primarily for revenue. These luxuries embrace two-thirds of all tariff revenue.

Second: There should be no income tax in a time of peace.

Third: Established industries should not be subjected frequently to violent changes but should be given time to adjust themselves to new conditions. A reduction of more than one-half of the duty at one time upon an article is inexpedient and even dangerous.

Fourth: Reciprocity, judging from what has already been done, is the best step that can be taken to extend our foreign trade, and the policy should be restored.

Fifth: The bounty upon home-grown sugar should not yet be abandoned, for it is not yet proved conclusively that the growth of beet and sorghum sugar cannot finally be developed sufficiently to give us a home supply upon favorable terms.

Sixth: Such wool as we cannot produce at home, and yet is required for mixture, should be free of duty.

Seventh: Art of all kinds should be free because art treasures inevitably flow into public institutions sooner or later.

Eighth: The tariff once settled, there should be tariff legislation only in the second year after each census, except in an emergency like the present when a deficiency in the national revenues and sound policy require additional sums to be collected from such imports as are luxuries of the extravagant rich, and not the necessaries of life of the frugal poor.

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Such would be a tariff in favor of the toiling masses, and for those who live frugal and unostentatious lives. Neither protectionist nor free trader, as such, could claim it, because it would be framed in the interest of neither idea, but primarily with a view to revenue, and upon the theory that to raise this from the foreign luxuries of the extravagant rich class is best for the people in general. Under such a policy, the tariff would be substantially taken out of politics and treated as a business question, and if periods of ten years' rest from tariff legislation are permitted, I believe the country would soon rally and begin its march toward the state of prosperity—as far as tariff policy can be made to accelerate that longed-for march—which characterized the decade between 1880 and 1890, during which its most marvellous development took place,—a decade which is probably to rank as the Golden Age of the Republic, as far as material prosperity is concerned.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S PLACE IN LITERATURE.[1]

THEY who are still youthful in the nineties can hardly understand the thrill which went through us all in the forties upon the appearance of "Jane Eyre," on the discovery of a new genius and a new style. The reputation of most later writers grew by degrees and by repeated impressions of good work. Trollope, George Eliot, Stevenson, George Meredith, did not conquer the interest of the larger public until after many books and by gradual widening of the judgment of experts. But little Charlotte Brontë, who published but three tales in six years and who died at the age of thirty-eight, bounded into immediate fame—a fame that after nearly fifty years we do not even now find to have been excessive.

And then, there was such personal interest in the writer's self, in her intense individuality, in her strong character; there was so much sympathy with her hard and lonely life; there was such pathos in her family history and the tragedy which threw gloom over her whole life, and cut it off in youth after a few months of happiness. To have lived in poverty, in a remote and wild moorland, almost friendless and in continual struggle against sickness, to have been motherless since the age of five, to have lost four sisters and a brother before she was more than thirty-three, to have had as sole survivor of a large household a life of continual weakness, toil and suffering —and then to be cut off after nine months of marriage—this all touched the sympathies of the world as the life of few writers touches them. And then the shock of her sudden death came upon us as a personal sorrow. Such genius, such courage, such perseverance, such promise—and yet but three books in all, published at intervals of two and four years! There was meaning in the somewhat unusual form in which Mrs. Gaskell opens her "Life of Charlotte Brontë," setting out verbatim in her first chapter the seven memorial inscriptions to the buried family in Haworth Church, and placing on the title-page a vignette of Haworth churchyard with its white tomb-

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stones. Charlotte Brontë was a kind of prosaic, most demure and orthodox Shelley in the Victorian literature—with visible genius, an intense personality, unquenchable fire, an early and tragic death. And all this passion in a little prim, shy, delicate, proud, Puritan girl!

To this sympathy our great writer, whom she herself called "the first social regenerator of the day," did full justice in that beautiful little piece which he wrote in the "Cornhill Magazine" upon her death and which is the last of the "Roundabout Papers" in the twenty-second volume of Thackeray's collected works. It is called "The Last Sketch": it is so eloquent, so true, so sympathetic that it deserves to be remembered, and yet after forty years it is too seldom read.

> "Of the multitude that have read her books, who has not known and deplored the tragedy of her family, her own most sad and untimely fate? Which of her readers has not become her friend? Who that has known her books has not admired the artist's noble English, the burning love of truth, the bravery, the simplicity, the indignation at wrong, the eager sympathy, the pious love and reverence, the passionate honour, so to speak, of the woman? What a story is that of that family of poets in their solitude yonder on the gloomy northern moors!"

He goes on to deplore that "the heart newly awakened to love and happiness, and throbbing with maternal hope, had ceased to beat." He speaks of her "trembling little frame, the little hand, the great honest eyes." He speaks of his recollections of her in society, of "the impetuous honesty" which seemed the character of the woman—

> "I fancied an austere little Joan of Arc marching in upon us, and rebuking our easy lives, our easy morals. She gave me the impression of being a very pure, and lofty, and high-minded person. A great and holy reverence of right and truth seemed to be with her always. Such, in our brief interview, she appeared to me. As one thinks of that life so noble, so lonely,—of that passion for truth—of those nights and nights of eager study, swarming fancies, invention, depression, elation, prayer; as one reads the necessarily incomplete, though most touching and admirable history of the heart that throbbed in this one little frame—of this one amongst the myriads of souls that have lived and died on this great earth—this great earth?—this little speck in the infinite universe of God—with what wonder do we think of to-day, with what awe await to-morrow, when that which is now but darkly seen shall be clear!"

It is quite natural and right that Thackeray, Mrs. Gaskell, indeed all who have spoken of the author of "Jane Eyre," should insist primarily on the personality of Charlotte Brontë. It is this intense personality which is the distinctive note of her books. They are not so

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much tales as imaginary autobiographies. They are not objective presentations of men and women in the world. They are subjective sketches of a Brontë under various conditions, and of the few men and women who occasionally cross the narrow circle of the Brontë world. Of the three stories she published, two are autobiographies, and the third is a fancy portrait of her sister Emily. Charlotte Brontë is herself Jane Eyre and Lucy Snowe, and Emily Brontë is Shirley Keeldar. So in "The Professor," her earliest but posthumous tale, Frances Henri again is simply a little Swiss Brontë. That story also is told as an autobiography, but, though the narrator is supposed to be one William Crimsworth, it is a woman who speaks, sees, and dreams all through the book. The four tales, which together were the work of eight years, are all variations upon a Brontë and the two Brontë worlds in Yorkshire and Belgium. It is most significant (but quite natural) that Mrs. Gaskell in her "Life of Charlotte Brontë" devotes more than half her book to the story of the family before the publication of "Jane Eyre." The four tales are not so much romances as artistic and imaginative autobiographies.

To say this is by no means to detract from their rare value. The romances of adventure, of incident, of intrigue, of character, of society, or of humor, depend on a great variety of observation and a multiplicity of contrasts. There is not much of Walter Scott in "Ivanhoe" or of Alexandre Dumas in the "*Trois Mousquetaires*"; and Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Bulwer, Miss Edgeworth, Stevenson, and Meredith—even Miss Austen and George Eliot—seek to paint men and women whom they conceive and whom we may see and know, and not themselves and their own home circle. But Charlotte Brontë told us her own life, her own feelings, sufferings, pride, joy, and ambition. She bared for us her own inner soul, and all that it had known and desired, and this she did with a noble, pure, simple, but intense truth. There was neither egoism, nor monotony, nor commonplace in it. It was all coloured with native imagination and a sense of true art. There is ample room in Art for these subjective idealisations of even the narrowest world. Shelly's lyrics are intensely self-centred, but no one can find in them either realism or egoism. The field in prose is far more limited, and the risk of becoming tedious and morbid is greater. But a true artist can now and then in prose produce most precious portraits of self and glowing autobiographic fantasies of a noble kind.

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And Charlotte Brontë was a true artist. She was also more than this: a brave, sincere, high-minded woman, with a soul, as the great moralist saw, "of impetuous honesty." She was not seduced, or even moved, by her sudden fame. She put aside the prospect of success, money, and social distinction as things which revolted her. She was quite right. With all her genius it was strictly and narrowly limited; she was ignorant of the world to a degree immeasurably below that of any other known writer of fiction; her world was incredibly scanty and barren. She had to spin everything out of her own brain in that cold, still, gruesome Haworth parsonage. It was impossible for any genius to paint a world of which it was as ignorant as a child. Hence, in eight years she only completed four tales for publication. And she did right. With her strict limits both of brain and of experience she could not go further. Perhaps, as it was, she did more than was needed. "Shirley" and "Villette," with all their fine scenes, are interesting now mainly because Charlotte Brontë wrote them, and because they throw light upon her brain and nature. "The Professor" is entirely so, and has hardly any other quality. We need not groan that we have no more than we have from her pen. "Jane Eyre" would suffice for many reputations and alone will live.

In considering the gifted Brontë family, it is really Charlotte alone who finally concerns us. Emily Brontë was a wild, original, and striking creature, but her one book is a kind of prose "Kubla Khan"—a nightmare of the superheated imagination. Anne Brontë always seems but a pale reflection of the family. In any other family she might be interesting—just as "Barrel Mirabeau" was the good boy and fool of the Mirabeau family, though in another family he would have been the genius and the profligate. And so, the poems of the whole three are interesting as psychologic studies, but have hardly a single stanza that can be called poetry at all. It is significant, but hardly paradoxical, that Charlotte's verses are the worst of the three. How many born writers of musical prose have persisted in manufacturing verse of a curiously dull and unmelodious quality! The absolute masters of prose and of verse in equal perfection hardly exceed Shakespeare and Shelley, Goethe and Hugo. And Charlotte Brontë is an eminent example of a strong imagination that was at home in prose, but which began by using the instrument of verse in a manner that never rose for an instant above mediocrity. Of the Brontës it is Charlotte only who need concern us, and of Char-

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lotte's work it is "Jane Eyre" only that can be called a masterpiece. To call it a masterpiece, as Thackeray did, is not to deny its manifold and manifest shortcomings. It is a very small corner of the world that it gives, and that world is seen by a single acute observer from without. The little plain governess dominates the whole book and fills every page. Everything and every one appear, not as we see them and know them in the world, but as they look to a keen-eyed girl who had hardly ever left her native village. Had the whole book been cast into the form of impersonal narration, this limitation, this huge ignorance of life, this amateur's attempt to construct a romance by the light of nature instead of observation and study of persons, would have been a failure. As the autobiography of Jane Eyre —let us say at once of Charlotte Brontë—it is consummate art. It produces the illusion we feel in reading "Robinson Crusoe." In the whole range of modern fiction there are few characters whom we feel that we know so intimately as we do Jane Eyre. She is as intensely familiar to us as Becky Sharp or "Parson" Adams. Much more than this. Not only do we feel an intimate knowledge of Jane Eyre, but we see every one by the eyes of Jane Eyre only. Edward Rochester has not a few touches of the melodramatic villain; and no man would ever draw a man with such conventional and Byronic extravagances. If Edward Rochester had been described in impersonal narrative with all his brutalities, his stage villain frowns, and his Grand Turk whims, it would have spoiled the book. But Edward Rochester, the "master" of the little governess, as seen by the eyes of a passionate, romantic, but utterly unsophisticated girl, is a powerful character; and all the inconsistencies, the affectation, the savageries we might detect in him, become the natural love-dream of a most imaginative and most ignorant young woman.

A consummate master of style has spoken, we have just seen, of the "noble English" that Charlotte Brontë wrote. It is true that she never reached the exquisite ease, culture, and raciness of Thackeray's English. She lapsed now and then into provincial solecisms; she "named" facts as well as persons; girls talk of a "beautiful man"; nor did she know anything of the scientific elaboration of George Eliot or the subtle grace of Stevenson. But the style is of high quality and conscientious finish—terse, pure, picturesque, and sound. Like everything she did, it was most scrupulously honest—the result of a sincere and vivid soul, resolved to utter what it had most at heart, in the clearest tone. Very few writers of romance have ever been

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masters of a style so effective, so nervous, so capable of rising into floods of melody and pathos. There is a fine passage of the kind in one of her least known books, the earliest indeed of all, which no publisher could be found in her lifetime to print. The "Professor" has just proposed, and been accepted, and goes home to bed half-crazy and fasting. A sudden reaction falls on his over-wrought nerves.

"A horror of great darkness fell upon me; I felt my chamber invaded by one I had known formerly, but had thought for ever departed. I was temporarily a prey to hypochondria. She had been my acquaintance, nay, my guest, once before in boyhood; I had entertained her at bed and board for a year; for that space of time I had her to myself in secret; she lay with me, she ate with me, she walked out with me, showing me nooks in woods, hollows in hills, where we could sit together, and where she could drop her drear veil over me, and so hide sky and sun, grass and green tree; taking me entirely to her death-cold bosom, and holding me with arms of bone. What tales she would tell me at such hours! What songs she would recite in my ears! How she would discourse to me of her own country—the grave—and again and again promise to conduct me there ere long; and drawing me to the very brink of a black, sullen river, show me, on the other side, shores unequal with mound, monument, and tablet, standing up in a glimmer more hoary than moonlight. 'Necropolis!' she would whisper, pointing to the pale piles, and add, 'It contains a mansion prepared for you.'"

Finely imagined—finely said! It has the ring and weird mystery of De Quincey. There are phrases that Thackeray would not have used, such as jar on the ear and betray an immature taste. "Necropolis" is a strange affectation, when "City of the Dead" was at hand; and "pointing to the pale piles" is a hideous alliteration. But in spite of such immaturities (and the writer never saw the text in type) the passage shows wonderful power of language and sense of music in prose. How fine is the sentence, "taking me to her death-cold bosom, and holding me with arms of bone," and that of the tombstones "in a glimmer more hoary than moonlight." Coleridge might have used such a phrase in the "Ancient Mariner" or in "Christabel." Yet these were the thoughts and the words of a lonely girl of thirty as she watched the dreary churchyard at Haworth from the windows of its unlovely parsonage.

This vivid power of painting in words is specially called forth by the look of nature and the scenes she describes. Charlotte Brontë had in the highest degree that which Ruskin has called the "pathetic fallacy," the eye which beholds nature coloured by the light of the inner soul. In this quality she really reaches the level of fine poetry. Her intense sympathy with her native moors and glens is akin to

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that of Wordsworth. She almost never attempts to describe any scenery with which she is not deeply familiar. But how wonderfully she catches the tone of her own moorland, skies, storm-winds, secluded hall or cottage!

"The charm of the hour lay in its approaching dimness, in the low-gliding and pale-beaming sun. I was a mile from Thornfield, in a lane noted for wild roses in summer, for nuts and blackberries in autumn, and even now possessing a few coral treasures in hips and haws, but whose best winter delight lay in its utter solitude and leafless repose. If a breath of air stirred, it made no sound here; for there was not a holly, not an evergreen to rustle, and the stripped hawthorn and hazel bushes were as still as the white, worn stones which causewayed the middle of the path. Far and wide, on each side, there were only fields, where no cattle now browzed; and the little brown birds, which stirred occasionally in the hedge, looked like single russet leaves that had forgotten to drop." . . . "From my seat I could look down on Thornfield: the gray and battlemented hall was the principal object in the vale below me; its woods and dark rookery rose against the west. I lingered till the sun went down amongst the trees, and sank crimson and clear behind them."

How admirable is this icy hush of nature in breathless expectation of the first coming of the master of Thornfield—of the master of Jane herself. And yet, how simple in phrase, how pure, how Wordsworthian in its sympathy with earth even in her most bare and sober hues! And then that storm which ushers in the story of the Vampyre woman tearing Jane's wedding veil at her bedside, when "the clouds drifted from pole to pole, fast following, mass on mass." And as Jane watches the shivered chestnut-tree, "black and riven, the trunk, split down the centre, gasped ghastly"—a strange but powerful alliteration. "The moon appeared momentarily in that part of the sky which filled the fissure; her disk was blood-red and half overcast; she seemed to throw on me one bewildered, dreary glance, and buried herself again instantly in the deep drift of cloud." An admirable overture to that terrific scene of the mad wife's visit to the rival's bed.

Charlotte Brontë is great in clouds, like a prose Shelley. We all recall that mysterious storm in which "Villette" darkly closes, and with it the expected bridegroom of Lucy Snowe—

"The wind takes its autumn moan; but—he is coming. The skies hang full and dark—a rack sails from the west; the clouds cast themselves into strange forms—arches and broad radiations; there rise resplendent mornings—glorious, royal, purple as monarch in his state; the heavens are one flame; so wild are they, they rival battle at its thickest—so bloody, they shame Victory in her pride." . . . "When the sun returned, his light was night to some!"

And into that night Lucy's master, lover, husband has forever passed.

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This sympathy with nature, and this power to invest it with feeling for the human drama of which it is the scene, lifts little Charlotte Brontë into the company of the poets. No one, however, can enter into all the art of her landscapes unless he knows those Yorkshire moors, the straggling upland villages, bare, cold, gray, uncanny, with low, unlovely stone buildings and stern church towers and graveyards, varied with brawling brooks and wooded glens, and here and there a grim manor house that had seen war. It is so often that the dwellers in the least picturesque and smiling countries are found to love their native country best and to invest it with the most enduring art. And the pilgrims to Haworth Parsonage have in times past been as ardent as those who flock to Grasmere or to Abbotsford.

"Jane Eyre" is full of this "pathetic fallacy," or aspect of nature dyed in the human emotions of which it is the mute witness. The storm in the garden at night when Rochester first offers marriage to his little governess, and they return to the house drenched in rain and melted with joy, is a fine example of this power. From first to last, the correspondence between the local scene and the human drama is a distinctive mark in "Jane Eyre."

If I were asked to choose that scene in the whole tale which impresses itself most on my memory, I should turn to the thirty-sixth chapter when Jane comes back to have a look at Thornfield Hall, peeps on the battlemented mansion which she had loved so well, and is struck dumb to find it burnt out to a mere skeleton—"I looked with timorous joy toward a stately house: I saw a blackened ruin." The suddenness of this shock, its unexpected and yet natural catastrophe, its mysterious imagery of the loves of Edward Rochester and Jane Eyre, and the intense sympathy which earth, wood, rookery, and ruin seem to feel for the girl's eagerness, amazement, and horror, have always seemed to me to reach the highest note of art in romance. It is now forty-seven years since I first read that piece; and in all these years I have found no single scene in later fiction which is so vividly and indelibly burnt into the memory as is this. The whole of this chapter, and what follows it, is intensely real and true. And the very *dénouement* of the tale itself—that inevitable pathos into which the romance so often dribbles out its last inglorious breath—has a manliness and sincerity of its own: "the sky is no longer a blank to him—the earth no longer a void."

The famous scene in the twenty-sixth chapter with the interrupted

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marriage, when Rochester drags the whole bridal party into the den of his maniacal wife, the wild struggle with the mad woman, the despair of Jane—all this is as powerful as anything whatever in English fiction. It is even a masterpiece of ingenious construction and dramatic action. It is difficult to form a cool estimate of a piece so intense, so vivid, and so artful in its mechanism. The whole incident is conceived with the most perfect reality; the plot is original, startling, and yet not wholly extravagant. But it must be confessed that the plot is not worked out in details in a faultless way. It is undoubtedly in substance "sensational," and has been called the parent of modern sensationalism. Edward Rochester acts as a Rochester might; but he too often talks like the "wicked baronet" of low melodrama. The execution is not always quite equal to the conception. The affiance of Jane and Edward Rochester, their attempted marriage, the wild temptation of Jane, her fierce rebuff of the tempter, his despair and remorse, her agony and flight—all are consummate in conception, marred here and there as they are in details by the blue fire and conventional imprecations of the stage.

The concluding chapters of the book, when Jane finally rejects St. John Rivers and goes back to Thornfield and to her "master," are all indeed excellent. St. John is not successful as a character; but he serves to produce the crisis and to be foil to Rochester. St. John, it is true, is not a real being: like Rochester, he is a type of man as he affects the brain and heart of a highly sensitive and imaginative girl. Objectively speaking, as men living and acting in a practical world, St. John and Rochester are both in some degree caricatures of men; and, if the narrative were a cold story calmly composed by a certain Miss Brontë to amuse us, we could not avoid the sense of unreality in the men. But the intensity of the vision, the realism of every scene, the fierce yet self-governed passion of Jane herself, pouring out, as in a secret diary, her agonies of love, of scorn, of pride, of abandonment,—all this produces an illusion on us: we are no longer reading a novel of society, but we are admitted to the wild musings of a girl's soul; and, though she makes out her first lover to be a generous brute and her second lover to be a devout machine, we feel it quite natural that Jane, with her pride and her heart of fire and her romantic brain, should so in her diary describe them.

St. John Rivers, if we take him coolly outside of Jane's portrait gallery, is little more than a puppet. We never seem to get nearer

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to his own mind and heart, and his conduct and language are hardly compatible with the noble attributes with which he is said to be adorned. A man of such refined culture, of such fine intelligence, of such social distinction and experience, of such angelic character, does not treat women with studied insolence and diabolical cynicism. That a girl, half maddened by disappointed love, should romantically come to erect his image into that of a sort of diabolic angel, is natural enough, and her conduct when she leaves Moor House is right and true, though we cannot say as much for Rivers' words. But the impression of the whole scene is right.

In the same way, Edward Rochester, if we take him simply as a cultured and travelled country gentleman, who was a magnate and great *parti* in his county, is barely within the range of possibility. As St. John Rivers is a walking contradictory of a diabolic saint, so Edward Rochester is a violent specimen of the heroic ruffian. In Emily Brontë's gruesome phantasmagoria of "Wuthering Heights" there is a ruffian named Heathcliff; and, whatever be his brutalities and imprecations, we do not forget that "Wuthering Heights" is merely a grisly dream, not a novel at all. Edward Rochester has something of the Heathcliff too. But Rochester is a man of the best English society, courted by wealth and rank, of cultivated tastes, of wide experience and refined habits, and lastly of most generous and heroic impulses—and yet such a man swears at his people like a horse-dealer, teases and bullies his little governess, treats his adopted child like a dog, almost kicks his brother-in-law in his rages, plays shocking tricks with his governess at night, offers her marriage, and attempts to commit bigamy in his own parish with his living wife still under the same roof! That a man of Rochester's resource, experience, and forethought, should keep his maniac wife in his own ancestral home where he is entertaining the county families and courting a peer's sister, and that, after the maniac had often attempted murder and arson—all this is beyond the range of probabilities. And yet the story could not go on without it. And so, Edward Rochester, man of the world as he is, risks his life, his home, and everything and every one dear to him in order that his little governess, Jane Eyre, should have the materials for inditing a thrilling autobiography. It cannot be denied that this is the very essence of "sensationalism," which means a succession of thrilling surprises constructed out of situations that are practically impossible.

Nor, alas! can we deny that there are ugly bits of real coarseness

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in "Jane Eyre." It is true that most of them are the effects of that portentous ignorance of the world and of civilized society which the solitary dreamer of Haworth Parsonage had no means of removing. The fine ladies, lords and soldiers in the drawing-room at Thornfield are described with inimitable life, but they are described as they appear to the lady's-maids, not to each other or to the world. Charlotte Brontë perhaps did not know that an elegant girl of rank does not in a friend's house address her host's footman before his guests in these words—"Cease that chatter, blockhead! and do my bidding." Nor does a gentleman speak to his governess of the same lady whom he is thought to be about to marry in these terms—"She is a rare one, is she not, Jane? A strapper—a real strapper, Jane: big, brown, and buxom." But all these things are rather the result of pure ignorance. Charlotte Brontë had hardly ever seen any Englishmen but a few curates, the villagers, and her degraded brother, with rare glimpses of lower middle-class homes. But Jane Eyre's own doings and sayings are hardly the effect of mere ignorance. Her nocturnal adventures with her "master" are given with delightful *naïveté*; her consenting to hear out her "master's" story of his amours is not pleasant. Her two avowals to Edward Rochester—one before he had declared his love for her, and the other on her return to him—are certainly somewhat frank. Jane Eyre in truth does all but propose marriage twice to Edward Rochester; and she is the first to avow her love, even when she believed he was about to marry another woman. It is indeed wrung from her; it is human nature; it is a splendid encounter of passion; and if it be bold in the little woman, it is redeemed by her noble defiance of his tainted suit, and her desperate flight from her married lover.

But Jane Eyre's ignorances and simplicities, the improbabilities of her men, the violence of the plot, the weird romance about her own life, are all made acceptable to us by being shown to us only through the secret visions of a passionate and romantic girl. As the autobiography of a brave and original woman, who bares to us her whole heart without reserve and without fear, "Jane Eyre" stands forth as a great book of the nineteenth century. It stands just in the middle of the century, when men were still under the spell of Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, and yet it is not wholly alien to the methods of our latest realists.

It is true that a purely subjective work in prose romance, an autobiographic revelation of a sensitive heart, is not the highest and

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certainly not the widest art. Scott and Thackeray—even Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth—paint the world, or part of the world, as it is, crowded with men and women of various characters. Charlotte Brontë painted not the world, hardly a corner of the world, but the very soul of one proud and loving girl. That is enough: we need ask no more. It was done with consummate power. We feel that we know her life, from ill-used childhood to her proud matronhood; we know her home, her school, her professional duties, her loves and hates, her agonies and her joys, with that intense familiarity and certainty of vision with which our own personal memories are graven on our brain. With all its faults, its narrowness of range, its occasional extravagances, "Jane Eyre" will long be remembered as one of the most creative influences of the Victorian literature, one of the most poetic pieces of English romance, and among the most vivid masterpieces in the rare order of literary "Confessions."

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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THE TWO ETERNAL TYPES IN FICTION.

THERE are few vocations more perilous than that of prophecy; and especially prophecy touching the probable development of art in its various phases. For art is not only so responsive to these mysterious and shifting currents of feeling and impulse which flow through society, but so dependent on individual temperament, that its course can rarely be indicated in advance. Men are so complex, and capable of putting forth so many kinds of energy and responding to so many diverse influences, that it is idle to predict in any decade the intellectual or artistic tendency of the next decade. The history of the older criticism finds its chief value to-day in the striking and humorous illustration which it furnishes of the fallibility of opinion in matters of taste.

It has generally happened that the qualities in a writer which the earlier critics condemned were precisely those which later commanded the attention and admiration of the reading world. It is the unexpected, not the improbable or the illogical, which is constantly happening; for the entirely adequate reason that there is a great deal in man still to be discovered. We seem to learn very slowly the consequences which flow from the many-sidedness of human nature, and we are always declaring that the present phase or stage of art is a finality. Is the decade rigorously scientific in method and interest? Then all succeeding decades will be scientific! Is the age given over to an ardent pursuit of economic and commercial ends? Then poetry has had its day and gone the way of all the earth! As a matter of fact, the particular activity to which men give themselves with passionate ardor in any given half-century is the activity from which they are likely to turn away in the succeeding fifty years; and the form of art which they are practising to-day is the form which is likely to fall into desuetude to-morrow. If the logical faculties bear the weight of work in one generation the imagination must take its turn in the next. So man works out his nature and lives his life.

A few years ago it required no small amount of courage to announce one's faith in the reality and authority of the imagination; to

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intimate, even vaguely, that the novel of romance and the story of adventure were likely to reappear in due season. For men were saying not only that romance, adventure, and poetry had had their day, but that literature was in its decline, and that science was to take its place. Having tasted of the fruit of accurate knowledge and exact observation the race had escaped finally from the spell of idealism. But the time has already come when one can be on friendly terms with both science and art, and can recognize the authority and the eternal necessity of the several faculties by which men live. If there had ever been any doubt about the reappearance of the old-time story of romance and adventure it has certainly been set at rest during the last two or three years. For, within the boundaries of our own language, the most obvious phenomenon in recent literature has been the advent, in rapid succession, of a group of writers whose special characteristic is the treatment of life from the romantic, picturesque, and adventurous sides.

Mr. Hall Caine, Mr. Du Maurier, Mrs. Ward, Mr. Barrie, Mr. Weyman, Mr. Crockett, Mr. Conan Doyle, Mr. Quiller Couch, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Zangwill have secured wide reading on both sides of the Atlantic; Miss Jane Barlow and Mrs. Kate Tynan Hinkson may serve as representatives of a new group of Irish writers of similar tendencies; Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Black, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Meredith, Mr. Blackmore were already in the field; while Mr. Crawford is distinctly the most popular novelist of the day in this country. The rapidity of the rise into popular favor of this new generation of writers of fiction, and the zest with which their multiplying volumes are being read, show clearly enough that the craving for this kind of fiction was keen and widespread, and hint at the vital relation between the unexpressed desire of the reader and the activity of the writer. It is evident that certain deep instincts are reasserting themselves; and it is also evident that the reappearance of the novel of romance and adventure has the justification, not to say the necessity, of a healthful craving of human nature behind it. For this widespread popularity of what is sometimes called the old-fashioned novel can hardly be a matter of accident, nor can the advent of a large group of writers of this novel be a matter of chance. Popular taste, it is true, often appears to be capricious, and art often takes unexpected directions; but the caprice and unexpectedness arise from our ignorance of the capacity and needs of human nature. The apparent capriciousness of the weather at sea is due mainly to

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human inability to watch the play and interplay of the elements over so vast a surface. If the novel of romance and adventure has reappeared, not sporadically here and there but in large numbers and at the hands of many writers of gift and power, it has reappeared in obedience to that prime instinct of human nature which sooner or later brings every faculty into action and makes contact with every form of experience imperative.

It is easy to say now, with this new impulse in the air, that realism has had its day; and many of the realists have been so aggressive in their assertion of infallibility, and so insolent in their attitude toward novelists of the other schools, that they will have no reason for complaint if the curses they have so freely launched during the last two decades return to them. But realism will always have its day; it is as necessary to the complete expression of human nature and human life as idealism and romanticism, and no more. Like romanticism it has been pushed too far and has lost reality by an exaggeration of mechanical accuracy; but the impulse and tendency which it represents will recover the lost balance and sanity, and the novel of realism will continue to be written with the novel of romance and adventure. It will cease, however, for a time at least, to be the dominant novel; and it is doubtful if it will ever again hold the field so long or so successfully against all comers. And it is significant that no really great realistic novel has yet appeared in the English language; "Tom Jones," "Kenilworth," "Henry Esmond," "David Copperfield," "The Scarlet Letter," "Adam Bede," "Lorna Doone," "Tess" and the "Manxman" have no real competitors among the novels of realism in our language. There is no story of realistic quality to place beside them, and after these years of intense and widespread activity among writers of the realistic school their supremacy remains not only unshaken but uncontested.

Too much importance must not be attached to this fact, and it would be a mistake to generalize too confidently from it. It may be that a realist of the genius of Thackeray or George Eliot or Hawthorne is even now dipping his pen in the ink which is never to fade. But it is safe to assume that this immense preponderance of the highest skill and the truest insight on the side of the novel of plot, romance, incident, and adventure is conclusive evidence of the reality and persistence of the creative impulse behind this novel. The novel of realism will continue to be written, read, and enjoyed; but so will the older novel which at one time it was confidently declared to have

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driven from the field. Romance, adventure, plot, and incident will not hold the field entirely for themselves, but there can hardly remain any question about their right to remain in the field, and their ability to hold their own in it.

The appearance in a single year of three novels of such power and charm as "Marcella," "Trilby," and "The Manxman" would go a long way toward settling that question, if it were a question. For these stories recall the great days of English fiction and revive its best traditions. They have the reach, the force, and the vitality of great novel writing; and they have the first-hand contact with life, the varied skill, and the ease and fulness of genuine art. They are not, in other words, mere exploitations, *tours de force*, skilful uses of talent to meet a changing popular taste; they are works of reality and of power. And because they are real and powerful they mean something; they mean that the novel of the bare fact is not adequate to a complete expression and portrayal of human nature and human experience; that for such an expression and portrayal another kind of novel is also necessary. The fact in human experience is always of immense importance; it is fatal to get too far away from it, but it is also fatal to be bound to it. For the man who deals with the fact, is affected by it, or determines its form, is as much a fact as the fact itself. He is as much a reality as any condition, situation, or circumstance outside of him; and he is as much a reality in his imagination as in his instincts or his passions. Indeed, his passions are often born of his imagination, and his action is oftener determined by that side of his nature out of which his idealism springs than by that side which breeds prudence, calculation, and logical consistency of the deed with the judgment.

The aspirations, dreams, devotions, and sacrifices of men are as real as their response to self-interest or their tendency to the conventional and the commonplace; and they are, in the long run, a great deal more influential. They have wider play; they are more compelling; and they are of the very highest significance because they spring out of that which is deepest and most distinctive in human nature. A host of men never give these higher impulses, these spiritual aptitudes and possibilities, full play; but they are in all men, and all men recognize them and crave an expression of them. Nothing is truer, on the lowest and most practical plane, than the old declaration that men do not live by bread alone; they sometimes exist on bread because nothing better is to be had for the moment; but

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they live only in the full and free play of all their activities, in the complete expression not only of what is most pressing in interest and importance at a given time but of that which is potential and possible at all times.

The novel of romance and adventure has had a long history, and the elements of which it is compounded are recognizable long before they took the form of fiction. Two figures appear and reappear in the mythology of every poetic people: the hero and the wanderer; the man who achieves and the man who experiences; the man who masters life by superiority of soul or body, and the man who masters it by completeness of knowledge. It is interesting and pathetic to find how universally these two figures held the attention and stirred the hearts of primitive men; how infinitely varied are their tasks, their perils, and their vicissitudes. They wear so many guises, they bear so many names, they travel so far and compass so much experience that it is impossible, in any interpretation of mythology, to escape the conviction that they were the dominant types in the thought of the myth-makers. And these earliest story-makers were not idle dreamers, entertaining themselves by endless manufacture of imaginary incidents, conditions and persons. They were, on the contrary, the observers, the students, the scientists of their period; their endeavor was not to create a fiction but to explain the world and themselves. Their observation was imperfect and they made ludicrous mistakes of fact because they lacked both knowledge and training; but they made free use of the creative faculty, and there is, consequently, a good deal more truth in their daring guesses than in many of those provisional explanations of nature and ourselves which have been based too exclusively on scrutiny of the obvious fact and indifference to the fact which is not less a fact because it is elusive.

The myth-makers endeavored to explain the world, but that was only one-half of their endeavor; they attempted also to explain themselves. They discovered the striking analogies between certain natural phenomena or processes and the phenomena and processes of their own nature; they discovered the tasks and wanderings of the sun and they perceived the singular resemblance of these tasks and wanderings to the happenings of their own lives. So the hero and the wanderer became subjective as well as objective, and symbolized what was deepest and most universal in human nature and human experience as well as what was most striking in the external world. When primitive men looked into their hearts and their experience

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they found their deepest hopes, longings, and possibilities bound up and worked out in two careers: the career of the hero and the career of the wanderer.

These two figures became the commanding types of all the nobler mythologies because they symbolized what was best, deepest, and most real in human nature and life. They represent the possible reach and the occasional achievement of the human soul; they stand for that which is potential as well as for that which is actual in human experience. Few men achieve or experience on a great scale, but these few are typical and are, therefore, transcendent in interest. The average commonplace man fills great space in contemporary history, as in the history of all times, and his character and career are well worth the closest study and the finest art of the writer; but the average man, who never achieves greatly and to whom no striking or dramatic experience comes, has all the possibilities of action and suffering in his nature and is profoundly interested in these more impressive aspects of life. Truth to fact is essential to all sound art, but absolute veracity involves the whole truth: the truth of the exceptional as well as of the average experience; the truth of the imagination as well as of observation.

The hero and the wanderer are still and always will be the great human types; and they are, therefore, the types which will continue to dominate fiction; disappearing at times from the stage which they may have occupied too exclusively, but always reappearing in due season; the hero in the novel of romance, the wanderer in the novel of adventure. These figures are as constant in fiction as they were in mythology; from the days of the earliest Greek and Oriental stories to these days of Stevenson, Barrie, and Crawford they have never lost their hold on the imagination of the race. When the sense of reality was feeble these figures became fantastic and even ridiculous; but this false art was the product of an unregulated, not of an illegitimate, exercise of the imagination; and while "Don Quixote" destroyed the old romance of chivalry it left the instinct which produced that romance untouched. As the sense of reality becomes more exacting and more general the action of the imagination is more carefully regulated; but it is not diminished either in volume or in potency. Men have not lost the power of individual action because society has become so highly developed; and the multiplication of the police has not materially reduced the tragic possibilities of life. There is more accurate and more extensive knowledge of environment

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than ever before in the history of the race; but temperament, impulse, and passion remain as powerful as they were in primitive men; and tragedy finds its materials in temperament, impulse, and passion much more frequently than in objective conditions and circumstances.

The soul of man has passed through a great education and has immensely profited by it; but its elemental qualities and forces remain unchanged. Two things men have always craved: to come to close quarters with life, and to do something positive and substantial. Self-expression is the prime need of human nature; it must know, act, and suffer by virtue of its deepest instincts. The greater and richer that nature the deeper will be its need of seeing life on many sides, of sharing in many kinds of experience, of contending with multiform difficulties. To drink deeply of the cup of life at whatever cost appears to be the insatiable desire of the most richly endowed men and women, and with such natures the impulse is to seek, not to shun, experience. And that which to the elect men and women of the race is necessary and possible is not only comprehensible to those who cannot possess it: it is powerfully and permanently attractive. There is a spell in it which the dullest mortal does not wholly escape. Whatever we may think of Marcella we get a sense of the range and volume of this mystery we call life from the spectacle of a nature so capacious passing through experiences so various and so rich in emotional and moral quality. "Trilby" takes most men and women into a world so new to them that the story has all the delight of a discovery. The history of the deep and moving experience of Philip Christian in the "Manxman" renews within us the sense of the perilous stuff of which we are fashioned, and translates with compelling power the baleful word Fate into the blessed word Providence. And is there any mystery about the charm of such a story as "The Raiders"? Are courage, daring, endurance, and sagacity less potential to-day than in the wild days of the feuds and forays of the Scotch border?

Achievement and adventure, action and experience, are not only as great a part of human life as ever, but they cast as deep a spell on the imagination. They are real and enduring in fiction because they are real and enduring in life. We shall always have the fact with us, and the more clearly we see and comprehend it the sounder will be our life and our art. But we shall always have in ourselves the need of what Matthew Arnold calls "the revolt against the tyranny of the fact."

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

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IS THE INCOME TAX CONSTITUTIONAL AND JUST?

In discussing the income tax most people ask: Is it constitutional, is it just? Of its justice we shall speak below. Its constitutionality depends upon the questions, first, whether it is a direct tax, and secondly, whether it is a uniform tax. The first question has already been decided in the negative by the Supreme Court. And notwithstanding all the scornful criticism which this decision has evoked, it is a perfectly good one. This can be shown by dwelling for a moment on a point hitherto generally overlooked—namely, the development of the term direct tax.

The words were first used in the latter half of the eighteenth century by the famous French school of the Physiocrats. Their cardinal doctrine was that land alone is productive of wealth, and that since taxes must be paid out of product, all taxes finally fall on the land. If the tax is imposed directly on land, well and good. If the tax is levied on anything else, it is nevertheless imposed indirectly on land, because in the long run it must terminate on land. A land tax is a direct tax, all other taxes are indirect. But sometimes, although here they hesitated, a poll tax was also classed as a direct tax.

The first English writer to use the term was Adam Smith, who had studied with the Physiocrats. He stated in 1776: "The State, not knowing how to tax directly and proportionably the revenue of its subjects, endeavors to tax it indirectly by taxing their expense." But as Adam Smith did not share the peculiar views of the Physiocrats as to the sole productivity of land, he also speaks of direct taxes on wages and profits, without attempting to give any more formal definition.

Thus far had the use of the terms gone when the debates on the new American Constitution took place. The only English work in which the words were to be found was, as just stated, that of Adam Smith. But, on the other hand, many of the framers of the Constitution were acquainted with the works of the French economists. One of the Physiocrats even went so far as to send Franklin a *mémoire*

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intended to dissuade the Americans from imposing any indirect taxes. The terms were therefore well known in the United States. But their precise meaning was uncertain. On the one hand was the Physiocratic conception which understood by direct tax only the land tax, and possibly the poll tax. On the other hand were Adam Smith's views, which classed as indirect taxes only taxes on expenditure. The members of the Constitutional Convention wavered between these interpretations. In July, 1787, Gouverneur Morris, at whose suggestion the term "direct taxation" was put into the Constitution, spoke of "indirect taxes on exports and imports and consumption." This would seem to imply Adam Smith's view. Yet in another part of the Constitution the phrase "capitation and other direct taxes" is used. And we are told that when Mr. King asked "what was the precise meaning of direct taxation, no one answered." The reason that no one answered is evidently that no one knew. It was a new term and had received no authoritative interpretation.

Later on, indeed, various writers maintained that a tax was direct when it was demanded from the very person who finally paid it. But, beginning with Ricardo, economists have repeatedly pointed out that this is not a satisfactory explanation, and that some so-called direct taxes are often shifted to other people, just as some so-called indirect taxes occasionally stay where they are put. As a consequence most of the recent economists have abandoned the distinction between direct and indirect taxes in the sense of any strict demarcation. And they have attempted a classification of taxes on different lines.

Practical administrators differ still more widely. In fact, no two countries agree. This need not surprise us, for in the absence of any precise economic test (which as we have seen does not exist) it is perfectly competent for each country to choose whatever interpretation may best suit its own purposes. The administrative classification of the United States which declares the income tax to be an indirect tax is just as valid as the administrative classification of France which refuses the term indirect tax to import duties, or as that of Prussia which calls the inheritance tax an indirect tax. It is not a question of legal logic, it is not a question of economics; it is a mere matter of usage and convenience. And therefore all attempts to declare the income tax unconstitutional on this ground are foredoomed to failure.

There is, however, another reason, recently advanced, which it

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is alleged renders the income tax unconstitutional. In the January number of THE FORUM Mr. David A. Wells argues that if the income tax is an indirect tax it contravenes that clause in the Constitution which requires all duties, imposts and excises to be uniform. Is there any foundation for this statement?

Let us first consider the contention of Mr. Wells, that because income proceeds from property or, as he says, is a "manifestation" of property, every income tax is therefore a property tax. This seems to me an utterly unwarranted use of terms. It is a truism to state that when a man pays taxes he lessens to that extent the amount of property which he owns. An import duty must be paid on property, a beer tax must be paid on property, a tax on sales must be paid on property. Are import duties, and excises, and taxes on sales, therefore, property taxes? If it be true that a tax which is paid on any form which property may take is a property tax, then every possible exaction imposed by government is a property tax. Then the terms, taxes on consumption, on expenditure, on transactions, are all unmeaning. Since everything is a property tax, the whole subject of taxation becomes exceedingly simple.

As a matter of fact when economists use the term property tax they do not mean anything of the kind. They simply mean that property is the standard or measure according to which the tax is assessed. A tax on salt is called a tax on consumption because the tax is measured according to a man's consumption. A tax on net receipts is called a tax on income, because income is the measure of the tax. Finally a tax on the property value of real estate or personalty is called a property tax, because property is the measure of the tax. But although a property tax is nominally assessed on the property, it is really defrayed out of the income of the property. All taxes are regularly defrayed out of income. If any nation were to levy permanently an actual property tax—that is, a tax so high that it would not only swallow up the entire income of the property, but encroach on the capital value, there would be a speedy end to that nation's prosperity. We must not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. If, then, we look at the real source of taxation, it would be more correct to say that every property tax is really an income tax, than to say, as Mr. Wells says, that every income tax is a property tax. But if we use the terms as they are commonly used, namely, with reference to the standard or measure of taxation, it is just as erroneous to call every tax a property tax because it is paid on some

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manifestation of property, as it would be to call every tax an income tax because it is in the long run paid out of income.

But what is meant by the demand of "uniformity" in the Constitution? A careful reading of the debates in the Convention shows that only one thing could have been intended, namely, territorial or geographical uniformity. It was intended that taxation should be uniform as between the several States. This did not mean that the same amount should be raised in each State, but that the same rate of taxation should be imposed on all the States. The States were exceedingly jealous of each other. During the years immediately preceding the Constitution, almost every State levied discriminating duties against the other States. The framers of the Constitution wanted to put every State on an equality. They wanted to prevent an import duty of 2 per cent being levied by Congress in Massachusetts while a duty of 4 per cent was levied on the same article in Virginia. If whiskey was to be taxed by Congress in New York, they wanted to insure its being taxed at the same rate in Carolina. That is why they said that duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform *throughout the United States*. This has never been doubted. Story tells us that the reason of the provisions "may be given in a few words: it was to cut off all undue preferences of one State over another." [1] It was not a question of uniformity as between article and article, but as between State and State. For instance, when the whiskey tax was imposed in 1792, not only was a distinction made between various classes, so that the tax varied from ten cents to twenty-five cents a gallon, but different rates were levied on the very same class of whiskey, according as the whiskey was made in a large or in a small still. In small stills the rate was seven cents a gallon, while in large stills the rate varied up to eighteen cents a gallon for precisely the same article. No one for a moment ever supposed that the tax in the least violated the constitutional provision. For a small still paid seven cents whether it was in Massachusetts or in New York; and a large still paid the other rates wheresoever it might happen to be situated. What is true of the whiskey tax in 1792 is true of countless other taxes imposed since then.[2] We see, therefore, how erroneous is Mr. Wells's contention that "territorial uniformity by

[1] Story on the Constitution, sec. 957, 4th ed. by Cooley.

[2] See especially the Head Money Cases, 112 U. S., 580. "The tax is uniform when it operates with the same force in every place where the subject of it is found," p. 594.

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taxation must imply absolute uniformity." It implies nothing of the kind. And in this all commentators are agreed.[1]

But for the sake of argument let us concede that the contention is correct, and that the word "uniform" in the Federal Constitution is used in the same sense as in some of our State constitutions which require uniformity of taxation entirely irrespective of the territorial idea. Even granting that the word "uniform" means not geographical but actual uniformity, does it follow that the income tax violates the provision because it exempts incomes below $4,000? This seems very doubtful, to say the least.

When we speak of uniform and equal taxation, we mean substantial uniformity, substantial equality. Absolute equality it is impossible for human agency to secure; absolute uniformity it has never been the object of legislation to attain. All that government can hope to achieve is to treat all the individuals in the same class equally and uniformly. But this does not mean that no distinction can be made between classes. For instance, it would be plainly unconstitutional if a State were to tax A and to exempt B who is in precisely the same class or condition. But it is perfectly competent for the State to say that certain classes of property should be exempt, like churches, or educational institutions, or manufacturing enterprises, or timber lands, or household furniture. And it is, again, perfectly competent for the State to exempt property to the extent of $250 or even $1,000, as is the case in several of our States to-day. All the individuals in the class are treated uniformly, but a distinction is made between the classes. And these distinctions have very generally been upheld in this country as not in violation of a substantial uniformity. It is needless to give the decisions, which may be found in any legal treatise. Not only have these exemptions from the general property tax been upheld, but the principle of graduated taxation itself has been upheld. Some of our States levy progressive taxes on corporations, saying that corporations with a certain income shall pay a certain rate and that corporations with a higher income shall pay a different rate. So again the inheritance

[1] The quotation from Justice Miller on The Constitution of the United States, given by Mr. Wells, is misleading. Mr. Miller states, p. 240, that in the Federal Constitution "uniform" means "uniform as between the different places and different States." But he adds—p. 241—when the word is used in the State statutes, "the better opinion seems to be that what is meant is not uniformity as to place," but uniformity "with regard to the subject of the tax." Mr. Wells does not bring out the distinction at all.

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tax in New York exempts $10,000; the collateral inheritance tax in other States makes the same amount of property pay different rates according as it goes to different classes of relatives; and the direct inheritance tax of Ohio levies a progressive scale in different amounts of property, even though it all goes to the same person. All these laws are held to conform to the substantial uniformity demanded by the constitutions.

This is as it should be. The object of uniformity is to secure equality or justice. Yet the final test of equal justice must be sought in the well-considered public policy. It is the social consensus or the public sentiment which in the last resort is our only test of justice in taxation, as of justice in other human relations. If, therefore, certain distinctions or exemptions are made in the interest of the whole community and for the sake of the public welfare, the substantial equality demanded by the Constitution is attained. An absolute uniformity would in such a case defeat the object of the Constitution and prevent the equal justice aimed at by organized society.

Now what are the facts with regard to the income tax? From the legal point of view can it be seriously maintained that a thousand dollar exemption from the general property tax or a ten thousand dollar exemption from the inheritance tax is constitutional, but that a four thousand dollar exemption from the income tax is unconstitutional? If this provision in the income tax law is unconstitutional, then we must overturn hundreds of decisions in our State tribunals, and completely reverse the general tendency of fiscal development throughout the civilized world. We must say that uniformity means absolute uniformity, and declare unconstitutional hundreds of existing laws which aim merely at substantial uniformity. There is, therefore, very little prospect of the tax being declared unconstitutional on that ground.

This brings us to the question whether the income tax is indeed a just measure. Some people say it is socialistic, and that the state has no right to confiscate earnings. This objection scarcely deserves a refutation. It entirely misconceives the relations of the individual to the state. The cry of Socialism has always been the last refuge of those who wish to clog the wheels of social progress or to prevent the abolition of long-continued abuses. The Factory Laws were in their time dubbed socialistic. Compulsory education and the public post-office system were called socialistic. There is scarcely a single tax which has ever been introduced, which has not somewhere or

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other met with the same objection. This is true no less of the new inheritance tax in some of our commonwealths and in England than of the new property tax in Holland and Prussia. But the argument nowhere carried any weight. In fact, if there is any Socialism, it would be far more obvious in the property tax, which exempts the earnings of the poorer classes, than of the income tax which reaches earnings from other sources than mere property. Yet we have become so accustomed to the property tax that the idea of its being socialistic seems ridiculous.

Others have said that the income tax is un-American and undemocratic. But this objection is scarcely less absurd. It is a matter of common knowledge that the income tax has been most fully developed precisely in the most democratic countries, like Switzerland, England, and Australia, and that the whole tendency toward democracy, even in non-republican states, has gone hand in hand with the extension of property and income taxation.

A more formidable objection is the old one that the income tax, however wise in theory, works badly in practice. We must, however, not forget that the real inquiry is not what is absolutely good (for that is unattainable) but what is relatively best. And it has been shown by competent evidence that if we compare the income tax during the civil war period with our general property tax in the States, the former tax with all its imperfections, crudities, and frauds was far more successful than the latter, and that it succeeded in reaching many of those who contrived to escape the tax on personalty.

The real weakness of our law is that it has failed to benefit by the experience of other nations. We assess the income as a whole to the taxpayer. England long since abandoned this idea and introduced the stoppage-at-source plan. In England the tax is divided into schedules; there is no declaration of the entire income in a lump sum; there is no general attempt to ascertain details from the income-receiver. It is the income-payer rather than the income-receiver who is primarily responsible. It is only in schedule D, which covers mercantile profits, that the income-receiver must make a return. The English income tax is therefore a comparative success, and has become an undoubtedly permanent part of the tax system.

But with us the only examples of the stoppage-at-source idea are found in the provision requiring the government to withhold the tax from salaries and in the clause taxing corporations and assuming that they will deduct the tax from the dividends. It would have been

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comparatively simple to introduce the stoppage-at-source idea. For instance, the tax on income from real estate might have been levied locally by separate officials, just as the local tax on real property is levied to-day. The tax on the income from mortgages might have been levied by treating the income of the mortgagee as part of real estate and assessing it primarily on the mortgagor, with provisions for withholding the interest by the mortgagor, and prohibiting contracts to the contrary by the mortgagee, as is the practice in some of the States to-day. The tax on all salaries might have been reported and withheld by the employer. The interest on all corporate bonds might have been withheld by the corporation. And in many other ways the principle of stoppage-at-source might have been introduced.

Instead of this, the American legislators chose to follow the more primitive and discredited methods. The results must inevitably be a large amount of evasion and undervaluation. With no machinery for checking the returns, and with no reliable estimates for gauging the value of the self-assessments, it is unfortunately only too probable that many of the doleful predictions made by the opponents of the law will be verified. It is very much to be regretted that Congress should have deliberately refrained from adopting those measures which alone would have made the tax both lucrative and comparatively efficient. The difficulties have been needlessly multiplied; the lessons of experience have gone unheeded; and the income tax itself will be held responsible for what is really not the use, but the abuse, of the principle.

There are also other defects in the law, such as the inclusion of inheritances in the income tax. For this will embarrass the commonwealths in their endeavor to reform the system of State taxation. And I do not deny that the $4,000 exemption is somewhat too high, although it must be remembered that England has just increased its figure of abatement to £500, which, in view of the purchasing power of money, really represents considerably more than $4,000 with us. Other minor shortcomings might be pointed out. But all these defects go to the form rather than the essence of the tax; they can, and no doubt will, be removed by proper legislation. The important question is this, Is the income tax a just measure? Does it mark a step forward or backward?

Put in this way the answer is clear. If we look at the conditions of the country to-day, we find that the tax system is in the main composed of the national taxes on consumption and the local general

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property taxes. The burden of the national taxes is admittedly upon the less well-to-do, and the demand of tax reformers the world over is that the scope of taxes on consumption shall at all events not be widened. Increasing needs, therefore, mean an extension of other forms of taxation. But the general property tax in its actual operation has become a tax primarily on real estate, and thus chiefly on the small farmer. Only in a half-dozen States has any serious attempt been made to levy a special corporation tax. Under our present system the investor in securities, the wealthy man of business, the well-to-do professional classes largely escape taxation. Is this uniformity, is this justice? The income tax must be regarded as in part a compensation for the national taxes on expenditure, and for the inequality in the actual working of the State and local systems.

It will, indeed, not accomplish all that its enthusiastic advocates expect. For no income tax can be so administered, under present American conditions, as to strike the wealthy and the unscrupulous in the same proportion as the honest and the less well-to-do. But with all its crudities and its imperfections it is a response to the demand for reform in fiscal methods. It is in a line with the democratic trend throughout the world. It seeks to correct the growing conviction among all masses of the population that our present tax system largely exempts those that are best able to pay. It is an honest effort to rectify abuses and to secure a truer equality.

We deplore some of the provisions of the law. Let us then seek to influence public sentiment and change the particular provisions. But let us not use exploded economic arguments; let us not endeavor to stop the wheel of progress; let us not attempt to palm off on our judiciary a false philosophy of taxation; let us, above all, not try to stretch the letter of the law into defeating a measure that is on the whole calculated to secure substantial justice.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

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TWO EXAMPLES OF SUCCESSFUL PROFIT-SHARING.

EXPERIMENTS that have recently been tried in profit-sharing have demonstrated the principle that there is no essential economic antagonism between employer and employee, or, as it is commonly expressed, between capital and labor. Their interests are common, and when they work harmoniously an increased return of efforts accrues to both parties. It is further demonstrated that the present antagonism existing between these two interests rests to-day upon an artificial basis. There is a number of notable examples of profit-sharing in the United States, each going to prove this thesis. It is true that not all enterprises are adapted to the process of profit-sharing; yet more than ten thousand workmen in the United States are admitted to a share in the profits of the several industries in which they are engaged. A large number of these has been successful, and those which failed were established under unfavorable circumstances or were not conducted with intelligence and zeal. I shall describe, from personal study, the working of two notable examples of profit-sharing—the company of Procter & Gamble, soap and candle makers, at Ivorydale, Ohio, and the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, makers of machinery, near St. Louis.

The old firm of Procter & Gamble, established in 1837, was changed in 1890 to a stock company with $4,000,000 capital stock. The manufactory is located at Ivorydale, a small town in the suburbs of Cincinnati. There the company owns seventy acres of land, and factories filling twenty-four buildings. It has several railroad tracks on the property, and it uses five locomotives for switching purposes. Four railroad lines are thus directly connected with the manufactory. The company employs about five hundred laborers at the factory, besides another hundred in the Cincinnati office and on the road. The process of soap-making does not require a large number of skilled laborers, consequently the rate of wages is lower than in factories where a higher grade of workmanship is demanded. They work five-and-a-half days a week, ten hours a day, or fifty-five hours per week. The average wages of men are $10 per week; of women,

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$4.75; and of boys, from $3.50 to $7. All wages are paid by the week, except in the wrapping department, where girls work on the piece-price plan.

The original plan of profit-sharing, adopted in 1887, provided for the distribution of profits among the employees (after allowing a reasonable salary, $4,000, to each member of the firm who was actively engaged in the conduct of the business), in the same proportion that the total wages paid bore to the total cost of manufacturing and marketing the product. For example, if the total amount of business done was $100,000, the amount of wages paid $20,000, the amount of profit made $10,000—then the total cost of making and marketing the goods was $100,000 less the profit, $10,000, or $90,000. The amount of wages paid was $20,000; the proportion of profits given to employees would be as 20,000 is to 90,000, or two-ninths, and the proportion to the firm would be as 70,000 is to 90,000, or seven-ninths. The employees' share was distributed among them in proportion to the amount of wages earned by each. This plan was in force for three years, during which the "dividend," or share of the profits, averaged 12⅘ per cent of the wages. After the incorporation of the firm into the Procter & Gamble Company in 1890, it became necessary for some special reasons to change this plan. The new plan made it obligatory to pay 12 per cent on the common stock, if this amount should be earned. This being practically the rate earned by the employees under the old plan, it was an easy and just arrangement to adopt a plan of paying to employees, as their share of profits, the same rate of dividend upon their wages as was paid on the common stock of the company. This method was adopted, and under it profit-sharing is now carried on. The dividends are paid semi-annually. To illustrate this, suppose a man earns $500 a year in wages; he receives in addition a dividend of 12 per cent upon this amount, or $60. If a man holds $500 worth of stock in the company he receives 12 per cent on the stock, or $60. Thus the laborer and the stockholder are upon an equitable basis.

All employees are entitled to begin to share in the dividend after being in the employ of the company for three months; but if one quits work or is discharged before three months' service, he receives no dividend. At first the laborers were divided into full participants and half participants in profits. This was not found to be desirable, and all employees were placed on the same basis. Fully 98 per cent of the laborers now participate in profits. The company reserves

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the right to deny the dividend to employees for cause, but the amount of this unpaid dividend must be divided among other laborers, and does not go to the stockholders of the company. It has been customary also to charge up any waste or loss of material, due to carelessness or neglect on the part of an employee, against his profit-sharing dividend, which amount, of course, goes to the company. As an illustration: a laborer climbed upon an engine, a place where he had no right to be, and pulled the throttle, and the engine moved forward and plunged into a wall, which was demolished. The amount of damage was charged against the employee's dividend. The charges for waste material and loss from carelessness were formerly more frequent than at present. During the last six months only four men out of five hundred have had any charges against them.

The company not only allows sharing in the profits, but also encourages the employees to acquire a part of the capital stock. Any employee may obtain a share of common stock upon the following terms: $10 at the time of application, and the balance, in instalments of not less than $5 each, within two years. Upon this balance he must pay interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum. In the meantime, all dividends declared upon the stock accrue to the purchaser, but the certificate of stock is held by the secretary of the company as trustee for the subscriber until the final payment is made. There have been up to date about 70 or 80 shares taken by employees, nearly all of which were purchased at prices varying from 100 to 128.

The company has under consideration a plan to go one step farther and guarantee the employees who hold stock against loss upon their investment. They find a good many difficulties in the way of the practical working of such a guarantee; but they hope to make this stock a sort of first lien upon the property in the manner of a mechanic's lien or homestead exemption. The method of assisting employees to buy stock has been in vogue only a short time and has not been taken up as freely by the laborers as the company had hoped; and it is with a desire to induce them to invest their money in the stock of the company that the guarantee system has been proposed. A most marked improvement has been observed in the men who have bought the securities of the company, not only in their ability as employees of the company, but in their general character.

Another very important feature of the Ivorydale system is the pension fund, inaugurated for the benefit of employees. This fund is created by setting aside the sum of $500 semi-annually, one-

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half of which amount is taken from each profit-sharing dividend, and one-half is paid by the Procter & Gamble Company. The management of the fund is entrusted to a board of trustees, consisting of the president of the company, and four employees who are elected annually by vote. The trustees have authority to apply the income from the fund to the payment of pensions, and if at any time they find that the income exceeds the amount necessary to pay pensions, the semi-annual payment from the profit-sharing dividend and by the Procter & Gamble Company may cease until such time as shall be decided by the trustees. Pensions are granted to any employee who has been in the continual service of the company not less than seven years, when permanent, partial, or total disability to work has been caused by accident, sickness, or old age; and it is the company's intention, so far as possible, to provide those who are entitled to pensions with such work as they can readily perform, at such wages as the work is worth. A further sum will be paid to them out of the pension fund, sufficient with the wages paid to them to make the total amount received equal to their former average rate of wages, provided, however, that the sum withdrawn from the pension fund amounts to no more than 75 per cent of the average wages earned by the applicant during the last two years of his service with the company. This plan is an agreement between the Procter & Gamble Company and its employees, and can be terminated at any time upon six months' notice by either party. There were $200,000 in the pension fund on January 1, 1895; and there was but one pensioner upon the rolls. But a practice of this kind which imposes the obligation upon the company and employees to provide for those who from injury or old age are unable to support themselves, could not do otherwise than inspire confidence and increase the solidarity between employer and employees.

Some of the employees have invested their savings in building and loan associations; and a few have built their own homes. This also is encouraged by the company. About half the employees live near Ivorydale, and the rest live in Cincinnati. Formerly, a large proportion of the employees lived in the city. Only a few foremen and office-men, about twelve or fourteen, whom the company wishes to have permanently on the ground, live in houses of the company. Aside from these, the company prefers to leave its employees absolutely independent in the selection of their homes.

An attempt to improve the social life of the employees has been made. A library and reading-room, with a smoking-room and card-

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room, were provided free. These, however, were not very well patronized, because many mutual-aid clubs furnished greater attractions than the reading-room and the library. It is the result which might be expected. Laborers would have a tendency to scatter into other groups rather than to associate among themselves in a single group. Doubtless the library and reading-room will be more generally patronized as the process of education goes on by the company and a better established social order appears among the employees. It is improbable that the clerks of a given store would be zealous in patronizing a library and pleasure rooms which would classify them apart from other social groups, when indeed these other social groups present more attractive programmes. The desire for variety of association and entertainment would make it a difficult matter to have an extensive patronage of such institutions. Nevertheless, the efforts of the company in this direction have not been without good results.

When an employee is injured or sick a physician is employed by the company to care for him. The company also pays wages to injured employees. It takes pains, too, to show an interest in them in other ways. Thus, on Christmas day three hundred turkeys were distributed among the heads of families. After each semi-annual pay-day, in January and July, a day is set apart for a general celebration in which employers and employees engage. The day is taken up with games, sports, and a general jollification.

The entire profit-sharing enterprise is established on a business basis. Although altruistic motives may have been at the foundation of this scheme, it was originated for the improvement of the business, in the belief that the benefit to the employees would in the end be to the advantage of the employers. Most of the employees being unskilled laborers and, at the start, below the average intelligence of skilled workmen, it was hard to persuade them that it was not a scheme to get more work out of them without a corresponding equivalent. They were disposed to take the dividend as a matter of course, and to spend it freely and sometimes foolishly. But by time and experience this idea has been dispelled. The success of profit-sharing there as elsewhere is a matter of education, and some efforts at profit-sharing have failed simply because the employers did not remember that the employees must be educated up to it. Patience as well as justice is required. The Procter & Gamble Company admits that during the first two years profit-sharing as a money-making scheme was not successful, but as the men became more and more convinced that they

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were treated with justice, they became more intelligent and more careful in their work, until it is plainly demonstrated and freely admitted that the saving under profit-sharing is largely in excess of the sums paid to wage-earners as profits. The success of the plan has exceeded the expectations of the company. The gain is in a saving of time, in diminishing waste of material, in making a better quality of wares, in keeping men of experience, and, finally, a saving in oversight. These are the principles which have been maintained by advocates of profit-sharing, and it is gratifying to find that in practice they coincide with the experience of those who have carried it on.

There have been no strikes or labor troubles of any kind at these works since this plan has been in force. The employees remain long in the employ of the company, and it is very seldom that a man is discharged for lack of work. But the company has never had an unprofitable period. It is the opinion of the managers of the company that the employees should not stand any portion of a loss; that is, wages are paid to them for the ordinary care which laborers usually exert, and the dividends are paid to them for the extraordinary care exercised by them in order to receive a dividend. If the business itself should show a loss, it belongs to the company to bear it; for the laborers also share a loss if they receive no dividend for extra labor and extra care. The laborers under such circumstances could not be responsible for any loss which the company should be forced to endure.

Another very important example of profit-sharing is carried on by the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, a corporation for the manufacture and sale of plumbing goods, steam goods, and machinery. The firm was established in 1877, incorporated in 1883, and began profit-sharing in 1886. It has its factories in St. Louis, Missouri; Mound City, Illinois; and Leclaire, Illinois. The number of employees varies from four hundred to five hundred, and their wages are $1.25 to $1.50 per day for common labor and $2 to $2.50 for mechanics. The company runs full time, with a possible variation of three-fourths time for perhaps a month in mid-winter. About one-half of the company's works are located at Leclaire. The factories are well built, heated with steam and lighted with electricity. The company owns about 125 acres of land, 15 of which are reserved for factory uses and 110 for residence purposes.

The plan of profit-sharing, as adopted in 1886, sets aside one-tenth of the profits for a reserve fund, one-tenth for a provident fund, and one-twentieth for an educational fund, and the balance is divided

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equally between the employer and the employees. The reserve fund was created to meet the losses of bad years and to equalize dividends when profits were small. The provident fund was created to take care of the sick, the disabled, and the families of deceased laborers. The management of the provident fund was placed in the hands of a committee of five of the employees, elected by the employees themselves. Every employee who has served the company for six months or more is entitled to the benefits of this fund, and medical assistance is provided by the committee. The allowance on account of disability is $5 a week for an adult, $3 for a minor, $2 for an employee's wife or dependent mother, and $1 a week for each child. This is subject to change according to the judgment of the committee. The families and dependents of deceased employees are suitably provided for to keep them from want. The amount paid is variable according to the judgment of the committee, although the usual rates are $4 a week to widows, $2 to each child under fourteen, and $2 to each aged and disabled parent. But the total sum given shall not exceed two-thirds of the wages of the deceased, and the allowance shall cease when, in the judgment of the committee, the beneficiary may become self-supporting. The total payments out of the provident fund to the present time amount to about $8,000. The educational fund was created to provide a free library accessible to all employees.

There are no conditions attached to employment and profit-sharing except the man's capacity for his work, and there is no agreement respecting unions, the time of service, or the manner of quitting. The manner of division was finally modified so as to yield 2 per cent dividends on wages to every 1 per cent on capital, and the early practice of setting aside 10 per cent as a provident fund and 5 per cent as an educational fund was displaced by the practice of paying out whatever was necessary for these funds, charging the same against the gross profits. The provident fund is managed entirely by a committee elected by the employees without any interference on the part of the corporation.

The whole aim of the company has been to make a simple plan, free from entanglements and intricate conditions. The result of the first year's business after profit-sharing was adopted gave a dividend of 5 per cent on wages, the second year 10 per cent, the third year the same, the fourth year 8 per cent, the fifth year 10 per cent, the sixth year 8 per cent, the seventh year 4 per cent, and the eighth year, which was 1893, no dividend was declared. The total amount

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of dividends paid to wage-earners as their share of divided profits is about $65,000, or an average of 9 per cent on the wages paid.

In the beginning dividends were payable in cash or in the stock of the company, at the option of the employee. Since about three-fourths of the dividends were invested in stock, the company in 1890, after having paid four cash dividends, changed the rule so as to make them all payable in stock of the company. This was done to enable the employees to save their dividends rather than to consume them. Whenever an employee, for any reason whatever, quits the service of the company, his stock is redeemed at par. A rule was adopted in 1894 that only those should share in the dividends who, working full time and getting full pay, saved 10 per cent of their wages and invested the savings in the stock of the company. This threw each individual upon his own responsibility to save and to support, by his own exertions, the system which gave him a return.

The village of Leclaire is not considered a model town, and has never been so designed by its promoters. There are no models for houses or people. It is intended that in every aspect life shall be as free from restraint as on a farm. It was built in 1890, upon a tract of 125 acres of gently rolling land. About one-half of the area has been laid out in winding streets. The dry roads are paved with cinders, which are sprinkled in dry weather. Plank sidewalks are laid as far as houses are built, and elms and maples have been planted on all the streets. Water and street lights are carried as far as the city is built. The company has made it possible for employees to own their own homes when they so desire. The price charged for land, including all improvements, is $2 per front foot for interior, and $2.50 per front foot for corner lots, and 6 per cent interest from 1892. The company will build houses on plans mutually agreed upon between them and the employees and sell them to the employees at a price fixed to cover the price of raw material and the labor, plus the average profit made by the manufacturing business. As the company has its own lumber yard, planing mills, and wood-working force, the net cost of the houses is no more than the cost of labor and raw material under ordinary circumstances. The houses may be paid for by the month in payments of from $10 to $20. When a man desires to move or to dispose of his property, the company takes it back at the purchase price, refunds the money paid on it, and charges rent for the time occupied.

Since the employees of the company are entirely free to live

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where they desire, many of them are residents of the adjoining town of Edwardsville, where they own homes. Wherever freedom of choice is freely granted, a body of laborers will never settle in the same spot, if they cannot find change and diversity. The company has built a club-house, which is provided with a dining-room, a kitchen, a reading-room, a bath-room, and nine sleeping rooms, heated with steam and lighted with electricity. A group of unmarried men have here a coöperative boarding club under their own management, where board costs $3.75 per week.

An extraordinary feature is the coöperative store, which was opened in May, 1892. It is incorporated under the laws of Illinois, and provides, among other things, that no one shall hold more than one share nor cast more than one vote, and all the profits above interest must be divided among members. The capital stock is two thousand shares of $50 each. Its business is "buying and selling any class of goods required by members, and manufacturing." It is under the management of a board of fifteen directors elected annually by the members. The officers consist of president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, store-keeper, executive committee of three, and two auditors, not one of whom receives a salary except the store-keeper. Any person may become a member by election and subscribing to one share of stock, which he shall pay for in annual instalments of not less than fifty cents a week, although a stockholder may pay in advance for any number of weeks. Should any person fail to pay his dues on stock for the period of a month, the directors may cancel the share and refund the money already paid, and dividends are applied on delinquent instalments wherever they exist. A stockholder may withdraw at any time by giving three months' notice. At the expiration of this time he receives the full amount he has paid in with interest to date. Interest not exceeding 6 per cent per annum is allowed upon the amount actually paid in.

No credit is given. The goods are retailed to members or to non-members at the actual market price as indicated by other stores in the vicinity. At the end of each quarter an accounting is taken, and a dividend declared according to the recommendation of the directors and the approval of the stockholders, in proportion to the amount of the purchase of each individual during the quarter. Only half-rate dividends are given to non-members. The dividends have varied from 10 to 20 per cent, with the exception of one quarter when there was no profit. The business is carried on upon an economic

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basis. The stock of goods consists of groceries, fresh meats, an assortment of staples, and dry goods. Accounts are carefully audited, and the treasurer of the association must give a bond of $5,000.

Some attempts have been made to improve the social condition of the laborers. There are a free billiard room and a bowling alley. In a small grove there are swings, benches, and baseball grounds. The company maintains a landscape gardener, and keeps a greenhouse from which residents are supplied, free of charge, with as many flowers as they care to set out. A well-organized literary society is in existence, where occasional lectures are given by distinguished men. There is a well-trained band which gives open-air concerts during the week in the grounds adjoining the club-house. A library, containing about six hundred carefully selected books, is free to all, and a large number of the readers reside outside Leclaire. A kindergarten was established in 1892. In 1894, an endowment of $10,000 of the stock of the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company was given to the residents as a permanent school fund. Subsequently the Leclaire School and Library Association was formed, consisting of the home-owning residents of Leclaire, and the directors and officers of this association have full charge of all educational interests of the town. The library and school were transferred to its care. The articles of incorporation and the deed of endowment provide for a school system, beginning with the kindergarten and continuing with a system of manual training and industrial education; that is, theoretical education is to go hand in hand with the practical work of the shop. A boy beginning at the age of twelve must work one hour a day in the factory or on the farm, so that when he graduates at the age of eighteen he will be working on half-time. He is paid for his services. The school is always free to all the residents of the town.

One of the peculiar features of the town is that there is no political organization or any laws in Leclaire except those of the State. There has been no occasion for appealing to the law, and there is no use for a police officer. There are at present no saloons in Leclaire. As the purpose of the company is to cultivate the principle of coöperation in every form, liberal inducements are offered for other coöperative factories to establish themselves there.

As to the result of the entire system, it is the opinion of the managers that waste of time and of material has been greatly reduced, and that there has been a better attention to business, although there are no statistics to show whether the saving amounts to more or less

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than the dividends declared. For four years the working-time has been fixed at nine hours a day, during which time no change has been made in pay. The system underwent a severe test in 1893, when, owing to the general depression in trade, the management felt it necessary to retrench and proposed to pay only three-fourths of the usual rate of wages until times should be better, when the other one-fourth should be paid out of the excess of the interest on capital. The proposition was fully discussed in open meeting and assented to by all departments. At the end of three months full pay was resumed, and at the end of the year it was found that the earnings would pay the other one-fourth of wages as well as the interest on capital. There was no trouble of any kind on account of the failure of the dividend in 1893—a proof of the solidarity and permanence of the system adopted. In 1894 it was mutually decided to run ten hours a day instead of nine, in order to make up for the low prices prevailing and to keep up with the brisk demand for goods. The company believes that the hourly return for nine hours a day is greater than the hourly return for ten, but in the aggregate more work will be done in ten hours than in nine.

Upon the whole the system as established by the company has proved eminently successful and is an excellent example of the success of profit-sharing in uniting employer and employee on the basis of a common interest. It is put upon a business basis and not intended as a philanthropic movement. The laborers appear to be contented and show a marked disposition to remain permanently with the company. That the plan furnishes means for improvement and gives inspiration for a more elevated life is shown by the improvement in the manner of living, which after all is the true test of well-being.

In conclusion it may be said that profit-sharing has proved one of the methods of solving the labor problem, wherever it has been intelligently established and patiently continued. While it is not claimed by its advocates as a universal cure of all economic evils, it is held that it can be adopted in thousands of cases, where it does not now exist, with highly satisfactory results.[1]

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

[1] The writer desires to acknowledge the courtesy of the Procter & Gamble Company, and of the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, in enabling him to secure information used in this paper.

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THE SOCIAL DISCONTENT.—II. SOME REMEDIES.

THE fundamental position of the laboring man's philosophy, so far as he has a philosophy, is a sound one—that every man is entitled to what he produces; and he will generally assert that if he could get what he produces, he would be satisfied. He would not be, because in most cases he already gets all he produces, and, some economists think, considerably more. Yet undoubtedly, if he could be convinced of this, one great element of his discontent would be removed, and with it not only that soreness regarding the better endowed portion of mankind which is often among the hardest features of the poor man's lot, but also the waste of quack remedies and unjustifiable strikes.

While, in the rough, wages are a measure of production, there are of course few cases where they are an exact one. Under perfect competition they would be, as already said. The effort of all economic science is to free competition, and its efforts are aided by all education and cultivation of the finer feelings. These three categories,—free competition, education, and morality include, so far as I can see, what remedies there are for the social discontent. I do not specifically include politics and invention because, except so far as politics express anything but morality and educated opinion, they are mere wind, though sometimes a tornado; and because invention can be stimulated only by the three general agencies specified. But no remedy that I can see is going to satisfy everybody, and, in fact, I cannot see any remedy that satisfies myself. I do not believe there is any immediate remedy: it has taken some millions of years for Nature to evolve man as he is and society as it is, and, regret it as we may, there is no more reason to believe that now, all of a sudden, all men are going to become capable or enjoy the results of capability, than that they are all at once to become strong and beautiful, and enjoy the results of strength and beauty; and there is no clearer way to evenly distribute one set of results than the other. Under increased knowledge, people are rapidly growing stronger and more beautiful—and richer too: the workingman is easily three, probably

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four, times as rich as he was fifty years ago. A little more than half the improvement is in wages, the rest in the cheapened production of what he buys. And the working woman is from four to six times as well off as she was, her wages having risen so much more than the man's. Moreover, if it is any comfort to the wage-earner to know it, his employer's fortune has not increased at anything near the same rate as his own. But so far as poverty has thus been cured, it has been cured like weakness and ugliness and disease, by regular processes of evolution, promoted, of course, by intelligence and morality; and there is not the slightest indication that the cure can be continued in any quicker way. Yet all the indications are that its rate can be accelerated.

I shall treat of what remedies I can see, in the order already indicated. As I intimated last month, I do not feel at all sure that I have anything new to say, and I am very sure that if such great bodies as the readers of THE FORUM would only read Mr. Wells' "Recent Economic Changes" and Mr. Mallock's "Labour and the Popular Welfare," there would be little justification for my saying anything at all. Moreover, as I am to treat from a different side some of the details I touched last month, I am in danger of appearing, to the casual reader, to repeat not a little that I said then.

Let us grant that we must take care of those who cannot take care of themselves; let us leave, if you please, those who won't, to the treatment I advocated here last August; and let us go on to consider what can be done for those who can, but are dissatisfied because they cannot make as good a living as some other men. Let us admit, too, that there is reason in their dissatisfaction, so far as they do not unjustly blame the other men, and claim as their own a part of what the other men make.

First, then, as to some economic details bearing upon freedom of competition among those able to compete.

As already said, if competition were perfect, wages would be an exact measure of production. The employers competing against each other would pay labor all that the laborer's production would justify, and pay each laborer according to his productive capacity. Injustice comes from one man getting another "in a hole" where he cannot compete, or from taking advantage of him when he is there by no fault of his own. If he is there by his own fault, perhaps strict

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justice, aside from altruism, does not require that he should be relieved; yet it does require that any advantages which may accrue to anybody else from his being in that position, should be equitably shared with him. Competition for those advantages, if it were perfect, would secure him this, *but* if competition were perfect, it would prevent any man capable of producing anything, from being in a position where he could not exchange his productive capacity for value. It may be objected: "But men, even when healthy and capable, are constantly getting into trouble because their trades are overcrowded." True! But perfect competition implies that in response to demand, labor and capital could be instantly shifted from one industry to another—that trades making more than average would at once be entered into by men—enterprisers and laborers alike—from trades making less than average, and so all trades kept healthily and evenly productive. It also implies that laborers would not be forced to take what they could get at any one time or place or even in any one trade, but could instantly find the trade most actively responding to demand, and therefore most needing their services. By this time the objector is probably ready to say: "There's no sense in presupposing any such cases in any society which we (not including Mr. Bellamy, of course) can imagine, and your notion of perfect competition is a pure ideal." That is just what I want the objector to say, and want to say myself. Perfect competition is a pure ideal, and what is worse, there are against it, as against all ideals, innumerable obstacles—time and space (as already said) obstructing each person's being just where and when he is needed, the imperfections of financial arrangements, the limits of knowledge, the uncertainties of nature, and, in fact, of all the conditions of production. And yet, despite all the obstacles, perfect competition is an ideal toward which all civilization is progressing, which is brought nearer by every discovery that conquers time and space or friction of any kind, which all the sciences, especially Economics, are laboring toward, and which every man should strive for. Every step toward it is a step toward the relief of the social discontent, and increase of the social discontent attends every step away from it—every effort to prevent laborers competing for employment or employers competing for labor—every intimidation of a non-union man—every interference with an employer's control of his business.

But the objector may naturally ask: "Do you think you can get along without strikes and lockouts? And yet what are they but

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efforts to obstruct competition?" Anything but that! They are strongly competitive, not only between employers and employees for shares of product, but a strike *legitimately conducted* is an admission, by the laborers employed, of the unemployed into freer competition; it is a statement by the former to the latter: "We hold our places to be worth so much; if you can fill them for less, well and good;" and a lockout is a statement by employers to their competitors: "We cannot do business at such and such wages: if you can, take our men and do it." It is only when either side takes the contrary attitude—when the strikers say to the unemployed, "You shall not compete for our places," and when the employers say to other employers: "You shall not compete for our men"—that the strike or lockout becomes an effort against freedom of competition.

"But how about trades-unions: are not they organizations against freedom of competition?" No, not when they live up to their principles, and do not resort to violence to prevent non-union men from competing with them. They have a right to strike, peaceably; for freedom of competition is freedom not to compete, as well as to compete: otherwise competition could not follow lines of least resistance.

I seem, then, to favor trades-unions, and even strikes, as remedies for the social discontent, and within limits I do. But every strong remedy does more harm than good unless it is used with discretion, and the fact that a remedy is good, or even the best, under some circumstances, is no indication that there may not be better remedies under others. The two remedies in question, while of proved value, are by no means yet perfected, either in constitution or application. Both, while legitimately promotive of free competition, are often illegitimately used in restraint of competition. A strike, which ought to be a peaceful, and could even be a friendly, trial of the question whether the laborers' places can be filled at the prices offered, is too often a violent and even criminal means of preventing that question being tried at all.

Yet I am not advocating strikes as *in themselves* necessarily good remedies for the social discontent; badly conducted ones are worse than useless, and at best, conflict is always wasteful. Yet in the present stage of human evolution, there are possible circumstances which are worse than war, and which war alone can cure. But when industrial war degenerates into physical war, whoever is responsible for such degeneration is not only guilty of crime, but (what is germane to the present subject) damages his own cause. A strike endorsed by

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public opinion is reasonably sure of success: one marked by violence alienates public opinion, and is almost certain to fail.

The resort to physical force is now reserved by the state to itself, and whenever the state tolerates it under any circumstances except in defence against similar violence, the state permits itself to be overridden. The word for such a condition of affairs is simply anarchy, and that is no way out of the workingman's troubles, but is simply a destruction of all the defences of the weak against the strong.

What a strike should be, was indicated by Grand Master Sargent, of the Locomotive Firemen, when he said what it should not be: "A man who will encourage men to strike at a time when thousands of his craft are out of employment, when the business of the country is paralyzed, when men are begging for bread, and when the strike means certain defeat for those who participate in it, displays poor judgment and is unfit to be the leader and counsellor of a labor organization." I quote from an account by Mr. Carroll D. Wright in the "International Journal of Ethics": it does not seem worth while to hunt up Mr. Sargent's exact words. What they mean is that a strike is not justifiable at a time when the strikers need trouble themselves about the unemployed.

It may be questioned, however, in view of many and recent occurrences, and especially of the fact that there never yet was a railroad strike without violence, whether strikes ever can become such unadulterated specimens of free competition as I have pictured. An approximate answer to this may be found, I think, in our experience with elections. In New York City's revolutionary election of 1894, all the disputes at one of the worst polling places in the city were brought to the neighboring University Settlement for arbitration, and the judgments were peaceably accepted in every case. Forty years ago, the disputes would have been settled by the bludgeon and the pistol. At that time, elections in New York City without riot and murder were almost as scarce as railroad strikes without them are still. Labor disputes to-day are about where election disputes were forty years ago; but I believe that forty years hence, labor disputes will be where election disputes are to-day.

The blame for violence in strikes is generally laid on the trades-unions. When it is justly so laid, however, it is because the unions do not live up to their principles. The laws of the unions, although it is not generally known outside of them, prohibit violence; and although the unionists do not live up to their laws more generally

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than other people, it is still true that a large portion of the disorder attending strikes is committed by outsiders who love violence for its own sake, and who even would not be admitted into the unions. I do not wish to draw any rose-colored picture of the unions, but we all know that there have been very trying times, even in strikes, when they deserved and received the sympathy of the best people in the community. The strikes of the match-girls and dockers in London, and the sweat-shop tailors in New York are recent cases in point; and a great strike now on at Haverhill, Mass., is absorbing some of the most intelligent sympathies of Boston. I know personally trades-union officers who are clear-headed, true-hearted, and doing noble work, in leading the unions toward high ideals. Notwithstanding the disgusting and irritating exhibitions which, in spite of such members, the unions often make, they are blunderingly educating themselves by discussions and readings (some of them very bad) and, alas for all of us! by their fearful mistakes; and they have already done much to free competition, and are to do much more.

One of their great services has been to integrate the men into bodies with whom it is possible for employers to treat, and who hold their members up to the treaties. In many cases, especially in Europe, employers have helped the formation of unions, in order that they might have a responsible body of laborers to contract with. This alone has made possible the boards of conciliation and arbitration. These, too, favor freedom of competition by relieving it of many of the obstacles of misunderstanding and ill-feeling. They are composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and employed, listen to all complaints from either side, settle disputes and establish regulations to prevent them. As the reader probably knows, by these boards the immense coal and iron industries of England and Belgium have been brought from a condition of almost chronic war, into one of almost chronic peace. They have established sliding scales of wages to correspond to changes in profits, and the books are open to the inspection of the boards and their agents. At first the scales were not always faithfully adhered to, partly because experience was not old enough to fit them fairly to all conditions, but they are becoming better fitted, work for longer periods, and are spreading into wider use. In America, the most conspicuous of these boards, so far, are those between the bricklayers and the building masons in New York, Boston and Chicago; and, as I write, the same trades in St. Louis and the other building-trades in New

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York announce preparations for similar arrangements. In New York the board has kept both sides in substantial harmony for ten years; in Chicago, eight; and in Boston, four. The window-glass makers also have a joint board of masters and men, who fix wage-rates, and both sides have adhered to them against heavy temptation and loss—the workmen, to their honor be it said, setting the first example. Another important board, though newer of course, is in the electrical industries. I am told (not very authoritatively, however) that although, as in all these boards, the representatives from the two sides are equal, the chairman in this one has never had to use his casting vote. Generally too, in boards of conciliation the world over, the degree of unanimity has been far greater than one would expect from current representations of the employer's greed and the laborer's stupidity. This must be largely due to the educative influence of the boards themselves, as of the trade-unions which are an almost essential preliminary to them. Many students of the subject believe that in the educative power of these two classes of organizations, upon employers as well as employed, lies the great hope of the future. But certainly that is not the only hope.

As already intimated regarding consumption, there is much to be hoped for freedom of competition in production, from improved methods of taxation, especially from the relief of those misnamed "protective" taxes which have lately been progressing in the exact ratio of the laborer's discontent. Some industries are unduly impeded, and others unduly stimulated, by such taxes.

Despite the ignorant cry of "The rich richer and the poor poorer," the relative number of property-holders is increasing, and there is nothing more promotive of free competition than property to fall back upon. The laborer's goods can't wait: if to-day's work is not sold to-day, it can never be sold: it is more perishable than a cargo of ripe fruit; and the laborer cannot afford to do without a day's wages as well as an employer generally can afford to do without a day's profits—a fact obstructive of the laborer's competition. Moreover, there is nothing to make a man respect property like having it. Despite the workingman's frequent theory that property is robbery, in practice he will, in his own case at least, agree with the scientific conclusion that it is important still farther to increase the number of property-holders. The property-holding peasant in France is generally regarded as the bulwark of social order. One reason why he is a better bulwark than his Kansas brother is that, being less specula-

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tive and ambitious, he is not so heavily mortgaged. But despite the populism of some of the western landholders (or rather, equity-holders—a much less conservative position), to deport the dwellers in city tenements to suburban cottages which they could be helped to make their own, would be an enormous preventive of many socialistic extremes—especially in that negative and most pestilent form which makes such people oblivious of their political duties. So long as they pay their taxes only in the form of rent, they do not realize that they pay them at all, and suppose that tax-paying is only a socialistic function performed by the rich, and it makes the non-property-holder indifferent by whom or how the money is spent. The error is probably not without influence in making the socialistic exemption in the income-tax appear just. There are of course other methods of increasing the number of property-holders, which should be encouraged.

Related to securing the laborer money is securing him time. A generation ago, even as good an economist as Senior believed that the profit all lay in the last fraction of working time—the weary last hours which really diminished the productive power for each succeeding day. Now the common-sense view is gaining ground that there is some stint, between twenty-four hours a day and one hour, at which a man will produce the most, and that point is rapidly being ascertained—at, in most trades, somewhere from eight to ten hours. It also appears proved, though it was long disbelieved, that there is a similar limit to the productive power of machinery, even from its own constitution, as well as from the constitution of the man tending it.

One of the greatest curses of labor is that while the goods are so perishable, the market is so restricted: a man has got to work within reach of his home, or change his home, with all the cost which that involves to both savings and associations. The only remedies for this are in widening the market and changing the character of the goods. As to the former, unless I am greatly mistaken, the greatest allies free competition has had in this generation are the bicycle and the electric railroad. As to changing the character of the goods: management—good planning—does not, like labor, stop its production with the day, and can even act at a distance from the manager's home. The same is true of capital. Now all the remedies I have enumerated still leave the wage-earner without these: his main need is to develop the managerial and inventive Ability (we may as well follow Mr. Mallock and give the word a technical character by a big

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initial) and be able to compete for its profits. Moreover, as Ability increases, over-productions, bankruptcies, credit panics, and all other commercial disasters and manufacturers' blunders which throw labor out of employment, must diminish; and increased Ability must also demand for its enterprises increased labor and new varieties of it—must, in fact, not only bid higher for labor, but lessen the imperfect adjustments of industry which leave numbers of deserving and capable persons unemployed.

Not only, then, as increasing the laborer's income, but as developing his Ability, it is desirable that he should grow to be a real sharer in the management of his own industry, instead of a machine under the management of somebody else. His second great need is that he should manage his savings as his own capital, instead of lending them to be converted into capital by others. To try to accomplish these two great ends through the state, is simply to make them impossible anywhere—to obliterate the workingman even more thoroughly than now, under an autocrat with all "the insolence of office," and to swallow up his savings in a pool which no one man could have enough interest in to take good care of.

But while this scheme, destructive of character and production, and vainly opposed to the laws of Nature, has been brayed into our ears, there have been, as everybody knows, two reasonable and helpful agencies quietly doing an enormous work toward the desired end. One is profit-sharing. To draw a theoretic distinction true in principle, but, like most economic distinctions taken separately, a little finer than always obtains in practice, managerial ability takes the varying profits, while labor without it cannot rise above fixed wages. But even on this principle, under perfect competition, a laborer exercising any managerial ability—economizing work and material, fitting his work into his neighbor's, or doing any of the thousand things which distinguish an intelligent workman from a routine one—would get, in addition to the wages that the merely routine workman receives, a share of manager's profits. In practice, of course, to thus justly distribute the profits of management is impossible; but something of it is roughly done where wages vary with the capacity of the workmen, or where there is a sliding scale. Yet the advance on the sliding scale may frequently be entirely due to the manager, and therefore unjust to him. The practice of admitting the whole force to participation in profits, generally in proportion to wages, may be more just, theoretically, than a fixed wage is, but it leaves out the

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fact that, under it, wage-receivers participate only in the happy accidents, and not in the unhappy ones; and in practice it has sometimes worked discouragingly. The men are not always intelligent and fair enough to put up with lack of dividend when times were bad. In one conspicuous instance in New York, they went on strike when the establishment was making no money, because they did not get the dividends they had had in good times; and the profit-sharing system was abandoned. Nevertheless in many places, among the comparatively few employees of exceptional ability, the system is in successful use; and as workmen gain in character and intelligence, it is sure to spread downward. The other agency akin to profit-sharing is, of course, coöperation; and so far it seems, in some aspects, to have been more successful. But naturally this is most generally the case in industries where the genius of the captain of industry is least needed. Coöperation has that great disadvantage as compared with profit-sharing—it lacks the captain. But it holds out the hope of great advantages in making the laborer both his own manager and his own capitalist. That of course would offer an ideal education in the relations of Labor, Ability, and Capital, which education will be needed until the laborer has enough of the last two to satisfy him. Spasmodically, coöperation has been tried through all history, but continuously and increasingly only for just half a century, and that at a rate which (to one who, like me, was familiar with it thirty years ago, and has until lately lost sight of it because of other interests) is simply astounding. By it, the capacity of the British laborer to manage himself, at least up to the point where he must contend with fickle demand and other commercial risks, is already demonstrated. Coöperative production is already an established success in Great Britain *when the coöperative stores take care of the product:* but where that responsibility must be added to those of industrial management, it is still a failure. Yet to the embryonic extent of a share in a coöperative store, and of doing the voting which ultimately determines the management, virtually one-sixth of the heads of families in England are already successful capitalist managers of labor. The latest statistics at the moment accessible to me show that "The Wholesale," the central source of supply of these stores, manufactured over a million dollars' worth of its own goods in 1892, and bought over a hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth from other coöperative producers. Its activities alone already cover an appreciative fraction of the whole field

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of industry, including banking, some building operations, and the ownership of six steamships. The transactions for the year 1892 amounted to over a hundred and fifty millions of dollars; the functionaries numbered over five thousand, and, in a real though very indirect sense, the interest owned by most of them in the enterprise makes them their own employers.

This has been a very rapid and solid growth, and in that fact lie the indications of the future. Coöperative merchandizing was a brilliant success thirty years ago, but coöperative production was not then assured, even to the limited extent where it was spared the task of marketing the product. But not only has that degree of capacity now been demonstrated within visible reach, but the amount of coöperative business has increased thirty-fold. Its prospects then do not negative the dream that it may eventually absorb all industry. Remote as that possibility must be, it is a much saner dream than the alternate one of state socialism, which proposes to give the power that coöperation reserves for the industrious and frugal and intelligent, to the vote of the stupid and venal proletariat, and by such means to complete, in some political campaign, the task that the strivings of all the ages have but just begun.

Coöperation has been comparatively little used in America, largely because our overwhelming immigration and the consequent diversity of our people render American conditions unfavorable to it. I am not sure that the facilitating of American conditions for this powerful aid to progress is not among the strongest of the many strong arguments for the regulation of immigration.

Now we reach the chief agent for realizing the coöperative dream and every other sane one—our old familiar and "only genuine" panacea, education. It ought to be genuine and a panacea, but in its usually recognized forms, what a failure it has been!—so much of a failure as to largely justify the contempt that "practical men" have felt for it, and much of the preference that the mass shows for following the apostles of the rule of thumb. But what better can be expected from the less fortunate classes, when the education of the most fortunate was until lately such a pitiable farce? Not so pitiable perhaps when every man's status was fixed, and when the amusement of "elegant letters" met most of the necessities of the case; but ludicrously unfit for modern complications, especially in a country like

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ours, of little leisure, new conditions, and seething flux. I do not think we have any idea of the power of education as a remedy for the social discontent, because, in any rational sense, we have but just begun to try it. Thirty-odd years ago, Yale, the college I knew best, while it had plenty of teachers of Theology, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and a fair supply in physical science, had not one whose specialty was economics or history, or even a language in which any modern contributions to economics or history have been made—not even the language of Adam Smith, though of course we could have studied him if we had had the chance, and I mention the lack of a professor of English merely as throwing light on the general situation. But we had no chance to study Adam Smith or any other real economist. Even Mill, though he was the acknowledged authority on the science until nearly a score of years later, was closed to us. He was an "infidel," as, the score of years later, was Spencer, whose "Study of Sociology" the then president ruled out of the course. So a scholar whose specialty was Greek and, later, International Law, put us through parrot-like recitations in economics from a compilation that I often incline to think the very worst book I ever saw, and my trade leads me to see a good many bad ones. What was true of Yale was virtually true everywhere. Of course few if any of the men educated in this fashion have developed well in economics, but they nevertheless include, in various situations, most of the present leaders of popular opinion, and they naturally lead it—nowhere. What wonder that the politico-economic progress of the country, instead of being a steady course toward a definite end, is a zigzag of "landslides"?

Outside the leading universities, the new social learning has not even yet found any adequate place in education, for example: the State-university of Kansas was lately forced to take a professor who will teach, not the accumulated results of economic science, but certain exploded doctrines popular among the ignoramuses of the legislature. The common schools almost everywhere, as everybody knows, are but the footballs of politics, and very low politics at that. A few years ago, a publisher offering a history to the Boston public schools was told that it must be revised to suit the Catholic members of the board, and was directed to a young Irish lawyer who was ready to revise Freeman. The young man's suggestions were obtained, but the history was not revised. Some others undoubtedly were, however; and it would be very strange if books on economics

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or civics (a word that it is time to admit into good society) were not occasionally treated in like manner. Note in passing that the education of the whole community would be reduced to the public-school and state-university standard, if you were to introduce socialism, and take the support of private wealth from education. With that pleasing picture, imagine the support of private wealth taken from the fine arts, and the country reduced to the governmental standard in them—to the architecture of the Government buildings throughout the country, and the works of art at the capital! You would reach a philistinism unparalleled in any "civilization" outside of South America and the dark ages. It is of no use to cite against this proposition the governmental support of education and the fine arts in Europe: centuries of great examples and aristocratic guidance are behind it there, and probably even they would be inadequate without the influence of the wealthy private amateur. For that matter, it even looks in France as if mere democratic government were blighting those flowers of civilization—under the Republic, the Paris Opera has gone to the dogs, the new Luxembourg galleries are not a very encouraging symptom, the *décadence* has struck literature, and I am informed by a government professor in Paris that public education is going the same way.

But to return: the best of the instruction books in social subjects, revised by the sages of the school-boards or not, nearly all attempt to cover, with as much fulness as their space permits, the whole territory of their subjects, and hence are forced to dwell entirely inadequately on the portions most needed by the average man. The elementary books on economics, for instance, give no more space to the questions of wages and profits, which concern all men, than they do to banking, though most of the youngsters studying them will never even have a bank-account, let alone manage a bank.

Faith in the saving power of education has been attacked because some of the communities where economic vagaries have flourished, most notably Kansas, have been the least illiterate. This fact only illustrates the fatuousness of what has been called education. We have already glanced at a specimen of it in Kansas itself; and everywhere, a little training, or rather I should say dogmatic instruction, in mathematics and the letters of the past, and a little less in physical science, has, until lately, done duty for education. In social matters, the only effect of such education has been to breed self-conceit—undue confidence in economic theories evolved from the inner

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consciousness, and to stimulate undue activity in the evolution of such theories. We are rapidly improving education, it is true, but politics, let alone the condition of the laboring-man, has not yet felt the improvement.

Toward what points, then, should social education be directed? Most of them are, I trust, implied in what I have said of its deficiencies, but all deserve fuller treatment.

Education in the modern broad sense, or even in the hackneyed etymological sense, is the development of the individual. For the man who cannot support himself, the fundamental educational necessity is development of his productive power. This has hardly been attempted at all, and what has been attempted for so many centuries, even in the highest institutions, has been essayed almost exclusively through the second-hand knowledge to be derived from books. Now, happily, in subjects that permit, it is rapidly becoming the mark of a good teacher to use books only as supplementary—to take his pupils out of doors or into the laboratory or (shades of scholasticism!) into the workshop, and put them in the way of getting their education at first hand, and by *doing* something: and it is principally by doing, or watching others do, that the power of doing is developed.

Taking for granted, then, in the new order of things, manual training and the trade schools, let us consider some less obvious matters.

To keep the man of inevitably low productive power contented with the best he can produce, without attempting to appropriate what others produce, he needs economic teaching, and the best teaching is, like that of part of the history course at Johns Hopkins,—and, I presume, in a few other advanced places—from current events. But there is no use in attempting that unless it is going to be done free from what I hope is yet going to be generally diagnosed and recognized as the Philanthropist's Bias. The physician who loses his head through sympathy with his patient, would better seek some other field of usefulness. He and the sentimental philanthropist alike would better restrict themselves to the simple and obvious means of alleviation, but not attempt scientific treatment. Obviously the first thing in healing the discontent is to avoid uselessly exciting it. If to help it, it must be aroused, let it be aroused so far as necessary; but many so-called reformers who are impatient with the remedies Nature has granted us, but do not propose a single new one—even one of the usual wild ones—harangue poor people with recitals of their troubles,

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until they are ready for anything—except reason. There is probably no evil in society which would not be mitigated by improved politics and education; and those who bewail the evils can at least point out the bearing upon them of these remedies, and so encourage their cultivation, as well as that of a spirit of hopefulness and reasonable content with the inevitable.

I will spare the reader, until next month, some suggestion of details of the needed economic education, and some discussion of the moral relations of the subject.

HENRY HOLT.

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THE TENEMENT THE REAL PROBLEM OF CIVILIZATION.

If the report of the New York Tenement-House Committee of 1894,[1] recently presented to the Legislature of New York, had aimed merely to present a most graphic and striking picture of the home conditions under which the mass of wage-workers in the American metropolis live, and how these conditions have come to be what they are, it would have been an invaluable document. Since the family home is the basis upon which our modern civilization rests, and since, with the universal drift toward the cities that characterizes this civilization in the age of steam, it is coming to be more and more an urban home, such a finding of facts regarding the city upon the Western continent that, at the end of its first century, leads all the rest, ought to be instructive. New York is the type of the other great cities. What has happened there will happen elsewhere. Local conditions may differ in New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, or St. Louis, as they differ in London, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, and Naples, but essentially the same problems have to be solved in them all, in the housing of their crowded populations. It amounts to this, whether or not the readjustment from the old plan to the new, in which the city home is to be the central fact, can be made safely; whether in it *the home* can be protected. If it cannot, then this is but the beginning of far greater changes to come. The state—society itself, as we know it—is not safe. It has had its day and must yield to the forces attacking it. They are irresistible. Within the brief span of one life, most Western peoples have become nations of city-dwellers. The balance of power has passed from the country to the city. And the pace knows no slackening. The change will soon be complete.

Can the readjustment be made safely? Virtually, that is the question the Tenement-House Committee had to answer for America's chief city. It answers that it can, if the community is of a mind to so make it, and will pay the cost. There are sacrifices to be made, obstacles to be overcome. The obstacles are discovered to be

[1] Report of the Tenement-House Committee of 1894, as appointed by legislative authority of the State of New York.

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in the main private interest and the low standard of municipal intelligence from which American communities have so far suffered. The "sacrifices" would not now be called for had an intelligent policy of justice to the poor obtained in the past which should have supplied them with enough and decent schools, with parks and playgrounds and the decent comforts of decent life, and surrounded their homes with the protection that is now demanded as the price of our safety. Compound interest is never a pleasant thing for a debtor to face. Foresight is better than 'hindsight—for one thing because it is vastly cheaper. We are called upon to pay for our past neglect.

In that respect we are in the same boat with the great cities of the Old World. The fact is that there no more than here were the forces of our industrial age and the changes they were working understood until it was too late, and the honest workingman's choice of abode was restricted to the slum or that which came perilously near it. But in Europe they saw whither it all tended sooner than we, and the last generation has waged one long battle with the slum in English and continental cities, in which the slum is finally getting the worst of it. They have answered the question there as the Tenement-House Committee answers it here, and have resolutely footed the bills. It remains to be seen if we be as wise. It is just as well to remember that the bill has got to be paid if it is just and fair. The bill is just and fair if the conditions of tenement-house life to-day are upon the whole, or to any considerable extent, intolerable. Are they so?

Forty years ago the first Legislative Commission was appointed to find out what was the matter with New York where things seemed to be going from bad to worse. It found a growing population housed in wretched tenements, housed any way, without regard to any one's rights but the rent collector, and suiting its life to its environment. It recommended "the prevention of drunkenness by providing every man with a clean and comfortable house," and was probably laughed at for its pains. A quarter of a century later the first Tenement-House Committee repeated the same warning, if not in the same words, to the same purpose. Here now is the testimony of the third investigating body as to the condition of to-day. The crowding—alike the measure of distress and danger in a city population—has grown beyond all precedent. The city below the Harlem—that is, Manhattan Island—is shown in the present report to have a greater density of population than any other city in the world, namely

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143.2 per acre. Paris comes next with 125.2, and Berlin third with 113.6. But in the Tenth Ward the population crowds to the extent of 626.26 per acre, and in one sanitary district of the Eleventh Ward the density reaches even 986.4 persons to every one of the 32 acres. It is clear that in such crowds fresh air and sunlight must become unattainable luxuries. Every consideration of health, of comfort, and of ordinary decency has to be sacrificed to the demand of the rent collector. As a matter of fact the Committee found a block in which 93 per cent of the whole ground area was covered with brick and mortar! By way of comparison it is pointed out that the apparently densest small section of Europe, the Josefstadt of Prague, has only 485.4 to the acre. But the Tenth Ward alone has nearly five times the acreage of the crowded district in Prague. More than one-half, —to quote the Committee, eight-fifteenths,—of the city's population live in what are here called tenements. Including the better kind of flats, which are legally tenements, the number is swollen to three-fourths, but of these the report takes no account.

As to what such crowding means from the standpoint of the death registry, the report puts some pregnant facts on record. The death-rate of New York has been brought down, through the persistent efforts of the Health Department, from 30 and more per 1,000 of the living inhabitants thirty years ago, to 21 this past year, and the tenement death-rate, without including every unknown suicide or hospital patient, has in recent years fallen even below the general death-rate, but in the houses that have a rear building on the lot it still remains murderously high. Thus in the First Ward, the oldest and first settled, the death-rate in houses standing singly on the lot was 29.03, while where there was a rear tenement it was 61.97. The infant mortality was respectively 109.58 and 204.54. Not only the exclusion of sunlight and air from these rear tenements, but the added facts that these buildings are the oldest and worst and the tenants the poorest, produce such results. The Committee justly denounces the rear tenements as "veritable slaughter-houses," and emphatically declares that the legislation needed is "such as will do away with the rear tenements, and root out every old, ramshackle, disease-breeding tenement-house in the city."

The effect of such a step would be to reduce the death-rate, but when that was done, the tenement-house question would not have been settled. There are still the living tenants to reckon with. The real question is so clearly stated in the description of the "double-

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decker" in the report, that it is worth quoting just as it stands: the authoritative official characterization of the typical New York tenement of to-day:

"The 'double-decker,' so called, is the one hopeless form of tenement-house construction. It began with the old New York dwelling altered over; and gradually a type was produced in some respects better and in some worse than the earlier forms of the narrow tenement. The double-decker cannot be well ventilated; it cannot be well lighted; it is not safe in case of fire. It is built on a lot 25 feet wide by 100 or less in depth, with apartments for four families in each story. This necessitates the occupation of from 86 to 90 per cent of the lot's depth. The stairway-well in the centre of the house and the necessary walls and partitions reduce the width of the middle rooms (which serve as bedrooms for at least two people each) to 9 feet each at the most, and a narrow 'light and air' shaft, now legally required in the centre of each side wall, still further lessens the floor space of these middle rooms. Direct light is only possible for the rooms at the front and rear. The middle rooms must borrow what light they can from dark hallways, the shallow shafts and the front and rear rooms. Their air must pass through other rooms or the tiny shafts, and cannot but be contaminated before it reaches them. A five-story house of this character contains apartments for eighteen or twenty families, a population frequently amounting to 100 people, and sometimes increased by boarders and lodgers to 150 or more. The only thing that bears the slightest similarity to this in Europe is to be found in the old houses surrounding the closes in High Street in Edinburgh, which were constructed several centuries ago when the need of protection from the castle compelled the inhabitants to huddle together upon the hill. There, however, no cases can be found of such narrow rooms and dark and narrow halls as exist in the double-decker on the twenty-five-foot lot in New York to-day. These permit an agglomeration of humanity which exists nowhere else, and which under a less rigorous code of health, a less keen watchfulness on the part of the authorities as to contagion, and firemen of less courage and efficiency, would create a state of affairs absolutely fatal to the public welfare."

Life in such crowds and under such conditions, adds the Committee, "has evil effects of various kinds; keeping children up and out of doors until midnight in the warm weather because the rooms are almost unendurable; making cleanliness of house and street difficult; filling the air with unwholesome emanations and foul odors of every kind; producing a condition of nervous tension; interfering with the separateness and sacredness of home life; leading to the promiscuous mixing of all ages and sexes in a single room—thus breaking down the barriers of modesty—and conducing to the corruption of the young. . . ."

This, then, is the Committee's answer to the question whether the conditions of tenement-house life are intolerable. Aside from the fact that some of the buildings are "veritable slaughter-houses," a state of affairs exists which interferes with the separateness and sacredness of home-life, conduces to the corruption of the young, and

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but for measures which the Committee shows to be inadequate at best —measures depending for their enforcement upon the shifting responsibility and haphazard method of government, or misgovernment, unhappily familiar to American communities—would be "absolutely fatal to the public welfare." Without rejecting out and out the authority of the Committee it is impossible not to admit that its answer is conclusive. And to reject its authority is not to be thought of. Its work has been far too thorough for that.

Much has been done, it says, to improve conditions in New York in thirty years, and much of it has also, as it shows, been since undone through the failure of the very measures that are the barriers against general disaster. "It is not possible to say now, as was true thirty years ago, that a fearfully high death-rate prevails in the city or that the condition of the tenement-houses is invariably bad." There are decent landlords nowadays, and as to the tenants, they "respond quickly to improved conditions." The first Tenement-House Commission recorded its conviction that the tenants were as a class ahead of the houses in which they lived. There being no mistake about this, there must be something wrong with the defence continually advanced for the slum-landlord that he is the victim, that his house is bad because his tenants are, that they will not come up to the standard he sets. Apparently one has not far to go to seek the wrong. The rentals of tenements according to the report are generally higher for the poorer kind. The double-decker brings in more than the first-class flat, because it costs less to keep it in repair; but when it comes to the lowest houses, those that are "old, in bad sanitary condition, and in great need of repair," the landlord's profits have been found to rise as high as 25 per cent. This is the slum-landlord who complains of his tenants. He also is the one who opposes reform tooth and nail. Why should he not? Reform to him means loss, and he is a landlord for revenue only—for all he can get out of it. His arguments have delayed justice by persuading the community that it did not pay to build decent houses for working-men—as if that settled it!

But the Committee says that it does pay, even as a mere money transaction. "Model tenements do pay," it says with an emphasis that is entirely intelligible. It is not a question of charity, not a task for the philanthropist; it is a question of justice, and it is our business to see it done. Nor is it to be weighed in the scale against dollars and cents merely. Decent homes "reduce the death-rate,

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tend to increase the morality and self-respect of the people living in them, and favorably affect surrounding neighborhoods," besides "paying, when properly managed, fair profits to their owners." I quote from the report. It is a presentation of facts which the community, which any community, will disregard at its peril. It is not a question of material comfort, of safety of life and limb. Very much more depends upon it. Without decent houses, said a great Frenchman, there can be no family, no manhood, no patriotism! This is as true on this side of the Atlantic as on the other.

The Committee has no plan for municipal construction of model dwellings. That it leaves to private enterprise. Its plan for dealing with the old buildings does not greatly depart from the lines of such plans followed elsewhere, but it marks a distinct advance, so far as New York is concerned, in the confidence with which it asks for things the mere mention of which would have been hailed with shouts of derision only a few short years ago. When, for instance, it asks that the power be vested in the Board of Health to seize and condemn tenements that are unfit to live in, on the English plan of paying for the building only as old material, it proposes only what is entirely reasonable, and necessary as the first move in an attack upon the slums. It is fair in proportion as the owner's dealing with the community was unfair in letting the rookery stand as a threat to it. That it is necessary New York's experience has sufficiently shown. Practically, there is now no way of getting rid of an offensive tenement except by declaring it a nuisance, which is not practical in one case out of a hundred. Yet this power of expropriation is the very one which we as a people have been so reluctant to grant that rarely has anybody been found with courage to ask for it. Even the politicians have been chary of exercising it, once it was given, as in the matter of small parks for which an annual expenditure of a million dollars under condemnation proceedings was authorized in New York City eight years ago, with the result that little more than half of one million has been expended yet, great as the need of small parks is. Nothing illustrates better the change that has taken place than an incident which happened when this very matter was under discussion between the Tenement-House Committee and the Health Department. The Committee had asked for a list of tenements which in the opinion of the Department were hopelessly bad. On the list as furnished was one which for a generation has enjoyed the just reputation of

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being one of the worst rookeries in the Fourth Ward. Its death-rate was overwhelming.

"It ought to have been destroyed long ago," said the President of the Health Board, Mr. Wilson, to me, showing me the list. "We shall get rid of it at last." I turned to the bookshelf and showed him in one of the earliest reports of the department how its own inspectors had reported twenty odd years before that really the building was fit only to be destroyed. But at that time the suggestion fell upon deaf ears. The wretched rookery remained to curse a thousand tenants down to the present day. It probably killed a hundred in that time. To-day it is not an inspector who hesitatingly, apologetically as it were, suggests expropriation; it is the head of the Department, and he says that it is but long-delayed justice. There is a difference here, and it is a very great difference. It is not the official view that has changed, but public sentiment, and it is evident that the Committee is well aware of it.

Therefore, when it comes to the matter of the long-neglected parks for the poor, the Committee boldly asks not for one, but for two, with playgrounds attached, to be laid out at once in that most crowded district in the world over on the East Side, where 324,000 people, nearly one-sixth of the city's population, live out of sight and to a large extent out of reach of a green spot. A bill is submitted, authorizing the expenditure of three million dollars at once for this purpose, as also bills for the purchase of playgrounds for all public schools hereafter built, and by degrees for those now existing. In these recommendations and in its advocacy of more and better schools, the Committee has struck the keynote of a phase of reform, the rescue of the children, that plainly appeals to the intelligent sympathy of the community. If it should turn out that it had done nothing else than to speed these reforms, it would have set the community immeasurably ahead. No worse outrage has been perpetrated than the degradation of our public-school system by its flagrant mismanagement in New York City. With the home corrupted, and the public school made contemptible by official stupidity, if nothing worse, it is not strange that so many of our youth go wrong, but rather that the majority contrive to keep out of jail.

The tenement is a fact to be dealt with. It cannot now be voted out of existence. But it can be made as harmless as possible. The Committee's way of doing that is highly suggestive and entirely practicable. It proposes that in the first place it shall be made secure

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against fire, so far as that is in the power of the builder, and that in the second place the Health Department shall be relieved of discretion in the execution of the laws touching it. This "discretion" clause has always been the favorite dodge of the politician who prefers the back stairs to the front door. It would be an interesting story in itself to trace its history back to the beginning of it, if it ever had any beginning. Almost the very first thing the Legislature did to make New York a decent town to live in was to prohibit soap factories below Grand Street, by the Act of 1797 which created a Board of Health and gave it police powers. That act was passed on February 10th and was to take effect on July 1st. On March 28th of the same year, less than seven weeks after, the same Legislature adopted an amendment giving the authorities discretion to grant revocable permits. And the biggest soap factory in the country is south of Grand Street to-day. The power of soap has suffered no diminution in a hundred years. "Discretion" in the sanitary management of the tenement has resulted in the appropriation by the landlord of 15 per cent of the lot that had been reserved for the tenant. The law allots 35 per cent to sunlight and air, allowing the builder only 65. "Discretion" vested in the Health Department and the Bureau of Buildings has reduced the margin of safety to 20 per cent. The Committee reports that to-day it is the practice to cover from 75 to 80 per cent. The legal standard of 600 cubic feet of air space per tenant has been scaled down one-third to a discretionary 400. By such means half the beneficent laws that have been passed to regulate tenement-house construction have been rendered ineffective. It is a good sign that the health officials themselves in this instance come asking to be relieved of the exercise of discretion, doubtless harassed by an aroused public conscience.

Along with the appeal to this awakened conscience there runs through the report a deserved rebuke for slumbering so long. Most of its recommendations look to the better enforcement of laws that already exist. The laws are all right, declares the Committee, even better on the whole than any in force elsewhere, but "they have hitherto failed to accomplish much of the relief expected from them." How that has happened is disclosed in part by the review of the first Tenement-House Committee's work which forms the by no means least instructive part of this report. Of the reform laws that were passed at the instance of that body one is seen to have failed through official indifference or parsimony which neglected to provide the

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means for carrying it out; another was flatly disregarded; a third, which required landlords to put water on every floor of a tenement, was for a time upset by the action of the Trinity Church Corporation in contesting its constitutionality, and the fourth and vital enactment which was intended to protect the tenant in his right to at least God's light and air, since he was despoiled of most of his human rights, was, as we have seen, cashiered by the landlord, reinforced by the politician. Of such kind are the "obstacles" in the way of reform in a great American city, even if it be but long-delayed justice.

The Committee had to do only with things that are. Had it included in its review things that might have been, it would have been obliged to recount how near to success came the disgraceful raid on the tenement-house law, only a year or two ago, which aimed at nothing less than withdrawing from its reach the very houses which the records show to be the worst, as they are the oldest. So craftily was it conducted, that the bill designed to effect the end for selfish interest was coming up for a third reading in the last house before any one not in the job, who was in position to know what it meant, knew of it or had an opportunity to protest. As it was, the protest had to be made to the Governor, who had the bill for signature, and who promptly vetoed it with the endorsement that it was inconceivable what argument could be advanced for a bill against which reason and all the facts seemed arrayed. Yet a Legislature had been found to pass it, but no city official uttered a courageous note of warning while it might have been effective.

The report has a word to say about the children, which is full of significance. They are the children of immigrants, generally of the poorest, whose resources or energies were exhausted in coming over the sea, or who were slum-dwellers abroad and take their places at the bottom in our great cities from necessity, or as a matter of choice. But whichever it is, that they have no notion of staying there is abundantly proven by the Committee's declaration that "this population shows a strong desire to have its children acquire the common rudiments of education." It does not rest upon the opinion of the Committee but upon investigations conducted at first hand by Professor Giddings, of Columbia College, and his class in social economics, and may be accepted unhesitatingly. As a matter of fact it is the truth. These people came here to better themselves and to give their children a chance. Nobody knows better what it is worth. Their emigration was a protest against the Old-World conditions that denied

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them this chance. If we, where they thought to be free, meet them with the old refusal, "if," says the Professor, and the Committee joins him in saying it, "the city does not provide liberally and wisely for the satisfaction of this desire, the blame for the civic and moral dangers that will threaten our community because of ignorance, vice, and poverty must rest on the whole public, not on our foreign-born residents."

It was worth all it cost to have that said in that way just at this time. Not the least among the obstacles to improvement in our municipal life will have been surmounted when we shall have got rid of the pharisaical pretence that the blame for our failures lies upon some one else than ourselves. There has been too much of that sort of thing. Of course our immigration is a problem. It is the problem of metropolitan growth, of commercial dominion. To ignore it is as if a merchant should start out to take all that came in over the counter, but refuse to pay his own bills. How long would it—how long would he last? Our immigration is a problem so far as it imposes upon us the necessity for seeing that it is decently housed and properly absorbed without unnecessary delay, which latter is what our public schools are for and are entirely competent to do, if managed as schools should be. From any other point of view, except that of the general policy of excluding undesirable immigrants, the talk about a "problem" is chiefly humbug and cant. The men who talk so learnedly about it were themselves the "problem" a generation or two ago. Let them look back and take courage. A year ago, when I had been looking about me in Whitechapel, London, where the population is now very largely, like our own on the East Side down-town, composed of immigrant Jews, with surface indications that are anything but attractive, Mr. Loch, the secretary of the Charity Organization Society, said to me, "The Jews are fairly renovating Whitechapel," and the local committee bore witness to the same effect. With the same readiness to see the facts as they are, we should be relieved in New York, and in other American cities as well, of much of our unnecessary concern about this "problem." The Italians, the Bohemians, and the rest would be found not far behind the Jews. As to this chance, so long as we let them come, it is our business to supply it, if not in justice to them, then to ourselves.

The report ought to dispose for good and all of the foolish conceit that the difference in our form of government saves us from any

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of the follies, or exempts us from any of the mistakes, of the Old-World nations. The shoe is rather on the other foot. Just because the public business is theoretically everybody's business, nobody but him who expects to make a profit out of it attends to it, and it fares accordingly. But the truth is that the form of government has little or nothing to do with such things. Like causes produce like effects everywhere, all great cities being in our day much alike, and human greed will take the same chances in a republic as in a kingdom, if not more, to the damage of the public interest. The case of New York should be a warning to other American cities that are beginning as badly as she did and will by and by have to pay as heavily for it.

And after all, what the Committee asks us to pay is not unreasonable, to say the least. It recommends no scheme of municipal construction of workmen's dwellings, no State subsidy, no drastic measures of demolition on such colossal scales as have had to be adopted abroad. That is not necessary here. Our slums are not old enough. The worst of them, the Mulberry Bend, where sanitary measures could effect no improvement, is condemned to go as soon as the city can get free from the official red tape that binds its hands. It contents itself with simple recommendation in some instances where it might with entire propriety insist, as in the matter of public bath-houses, on urgent needs. "There was," says the report of a block with 2,000 tenants, "not a bath-tub in the block;" and its secretary reports that out of a total population of 255,033 covered by the Committee's inspection, only 306 persons had access to bath-rooms in the houses in which they lived. There are free river baths in summer and cheap bathing facilities provided by private agency at all seasons, but they are not sufficient. "The great majority of the tenement-house population is not yet reached." Glasgow, testified Dr. Albert Shaw, "has built six or seven public baths at a cost in round figures of $100,000 for each, and they are a great success." Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and other British towns have done likewise, and the use of the baths grows as fast as they are supplied. From a hundred thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand persons a year patronize each of them. It would not have been going too far, perhaps, to insist on this chance also for those whose homes are none too clean and whose only playground is set between two gutters.

Birmingham, says Dr. Shaw in his book on municipal government in Great Britain, went to the work of draining its slums and ordering

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its municipal household in 1872, with a debt of $2,500,000. It is now about $40,000,000. "But the community, as individuals and as a corporate body, is the richer at least by two or three dollars for every dollar of the forty or fifty millions that the corporation has dared to borrow or invest." With a conservative regard for the tax-rate and a significant look at the politician who stands waiting to see it jump up under a reform government and so to give him *his* chance, the Committee contents itself with asking for more breathing-spaces among the crowded tenements, justice for the children, and such extended powers as shall render existing relief laws effective. It evidently does not believe that the time has yet come to carry out even its own plan in its full scope. The public sentiment to which it appeals has yet to grow strong. As to many of the evils of which complaint has been made, it concludes, "they are the natural result of poverty, and the Committee does not feel itself competent to draw a bill which could legislate poverty out of existence."

It is not to be expected that such a programme would appeal to the Anarchists, the Socialists, or the other theorists who have each his own cure for all society's ills ready-made, and who would rather see the patient die than have him relieved according to any other formula than their own. The citizens who would have well enough let alone at any price, those who think that there is always "too much done for the poor," the politician out of a job with his professional interest in the tax-rate, and all the rest who cannot see beyond their noses, yet can always be pulled around by that member, will protest of course. The report asks too much, or too little, to suit them. But these may be allowed to grumble, since grumble they must. They are not nearly so dangerous as the old indifference. Neither will be able any longer to obscure the real issue, which is the right of the toiler to a decent home, and the duty of the commonwealth to see that he is not robbed of that right. Such a home, the Committee's report shows, he has not now in New York, but can have at a price that is utterly insignificant in proportion to what it will buy. The Committee has done a great work well. The question for New York, for all American cities, to answer now is: Shall the price be paid?

JACOB A. RIIS.

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THE WORK OF VILLAGE-IMPROVEMENT SOCIETIES.

THE American people are showing a rapidly growing interest in the improvement of their towns; and of the many causes of this progress the numerous village-improvement societies are not the least. As Jack Falstaff was "not only witty in himself but the cause that wit was in other men," so the influence of these societies is by no means limited to the towns or counties where they are organized, for their example benefits many towns where no improvement societies have yet been formed. Far more has been accomplished than I ever expected to see when I enlisted in this work thirty years ago. But compared with the public needs and the rich opportunities in every State the work seems just begun. These societies foster that town pride and public spirit which suggest liberal plans and prompt to generous gifts, impressively putting to every citizen the question, What is it my duty or privilege to do for my town?

A sketch of the Laurel Hill Association, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, the first incorporated village-improvement society in the United States, is suggestive. It was originated by Miss Mary Hopkins, now Mrs. J. Z. Goodrich. Her untiring efforts to rouse the people resulted in a public meeting where the subject was discussed and a society was organized. As a result, the Stockbridge of to-day stands out in marked contrast with the Stockbridge of my boyhood. The main street, irregularly laid out and unevenly graded, with deep pools of standing water, with few trees and fewer sidewalks, the "green" without trees or any semblance of ornament, loaded wagons making deep ruts almost to the church door, the cemetery with a broken-down wooden fence and full of brambles and weeds—these all appear in my recollection of Stockbridge as it was in 1853. To-day streets are graded and lined with shade-trees. At the first annual meeting the treasurer reported that the amount paid in, in labor or cash, was $1,396. The number of trees planted the first year was four hundred and twenty-three. At this meeting Cyrus W. Field and E. W. Pomeroy together gave $250 to be used for prizes. Fifty cents were given for every thrifty tree planted of kinds specified; $10, or a silver cup of equal value, to the planter of the best 15 trees,

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to the second best $6, to the third best $4. All the trees were to be planted within certain specified limits. Another prize of $10 was offered for the largest number and the best trees planted along any public roads of the town. A prize of $10 was given to the person who made the longest and best sidewalk, and another $10 to the person who made the greatest improvement in the grounds around his dwelling anywhere in the town. A reward of $10 was offered for evidence which should lead to the conviction of any one injuring the trees and foot-bridges under the care of the association. About four thousand trees have now been planted, and the association has the income derived from about $4,000 of invested funds, supplemented by individual subscriptions. When $2,000 were given for a free town library by a single benefactor, this amount was nearly doubled by individual contributions. The library building, a fine stone edifice, with reading-room and lecture hall costing $25,000, was the gift of the late J. Z. Goodrich. Mr. Cyrus W. Field gave $10,000 for a park, and Mr. David Dudley Field, in the last year of his life, gave to Stockbridge fifty-eight acres of land, including the romantic "Ice Glen," for a mountain park, together with $5,000 for its improvement. The Laurel Hill Association with an offer to pay one-half the expense induced the railroad company to add an acre and a half to the grounds about its station and to erect an elegant building. This association has beautifully adorned these grounds. Its anniversary, fitly observed on the fourth Wednesday of every August, commemorated last summer forty years of successful work. Every acre of land and every homestead in Stockbridge has appreciated in value by reason of this society.

The appearance to-day of New Milford, Connecticut, presents a striking contrast to its appearance in 1872. The New Milford Village-Improvement Association has completely transformed its wide main street. Its spacious "green," formerly uneven and unsightly with wagon ruts and a dirty stream which in a drought became a mud swamp, has been drained and graded and made into an attractive lawn. This long parallelogram is now the finest park of its kind in Connecticut. There was unexpected liberality in providing the needed funds. At the outset the membership fee was $5. Afterward it was reduced to one dollar. The women held a fair which netted about $700. The amount received from membership fees and subscriptions was $1,692. The residents along the main street volunteered to pay an assessment of $1.50 per front foot, which yielded

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$4,137. In four years the society raised about $7,000, and residents expended for walks and other improvements $2,500 more. Many citizens still voluntarily pay an annual tax to the association. These improvements have attracted wealth and culture from abroad and enhanced the value of property.

The following sketches, limited to personal observations, relate chiefly to the West, where so many good examples are found that selection is difficult. It is in the Western States that the greatest progress in rural improvement has been made during the last ten years. Here one finds illustrations of coöperation and enterprise surpassing the more staid East. The Wyoming Village-Improvement Society is the foremost organization of its kind in Ohio. It was formed in 1880 at a public meeting where several spirited addresses were made. The mayor of the village was made president, and a directory of four women and four men was appointed. These were divided into committees on trees, on sidewalks, on sewerage, on finance, and on entertainments, concerts and lectures. Though the population of the village was only 700, they began work with thoroughness and enthusiasm. Nearly every man and woman in the village joined the association. They first undertook one conspicuous improvement—the enlargement and adornment of the unsightly grounds of the railroad station. They collected $1,200 by subscriptions, the railroad company added $400 and hauled the needed gravel and soil without charge. The result is the most attractive station-park on this line of railway. In 1881 there were planted in this park one hundred and eighty-five trees and sixty-three shrubs of flowering varieties and flower-beds, all arranged by a competent landscape gardener. In 1882 seven hundred and seventy trees were planted along the streets. The aggregate number of trees planted by this association is about four thousand. During its first three years the society raised through membership dues, private subscriptions, entertainments and the like nearly $3,000. The membership fee was $3 for the first year, and annually thereafter $2; for persons not of age $1, or the planting of one tree under the direction of the tree-committee. The society has secured an efficient street-sprinkling service. The property-holders have laid miles of artificial stone sidewalks, and public-spirited citizens have given to the village a commodious and elegant hall in which is a fine library and reading-room. The Village-Improvement Society has been the leader in these and many other improvements. It has shown the value of town pride and civic

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patriotism. The plans and recommendations of this society for street-lights, water-supply and sewerage have won general favor. Wyoming demonstrates the wisdom of excluding National politics from local elections, and the same mayor has been re-elected for eight years.

Village improvement is often carried on by individual as well as by organized efforts, when a citizen of wealth and liberality or of wise foresight starts forces that lift up a whole community. Faribault, the model town of Minnesota, is a suggestive instance of the value of a wise and patriotic leader. Bishop Whipple's residence and influence here for more than thirty years explain the growth and attractions of this prosperous town. Faribault is celebrated for its educational institutions. The Shattuck School with a campus of 150 acres, St. Mary's School, and the Seabury Divinity School have long shared his supervision. The three State schools for the deaf, the blind, and for imbeciles, tell of his influence. These six great institutions are beautifully situated on a bluff, embracing several hundred acres and overlooking the city and surrounding country. The grounds and this group of elegant buildings are so arranged as to make one unique and continuous park nearly two miles in length. They are all open to the public, with their fine groves, lawns, statuary, winding drives and charming walks. Nature and art have here combined in presenting most attractive features unlike anything I have elsewhere seen. Bishop Whipple is justly held in honor throughout the country for his other services, but by the citizens of Faribault he is revered also as their benefactor, though he is without fortune.

Northfield, Minnesota, is another illustration. When thirty years ago it was decided to found a college in this State, it was established at Northfield because of a generous offer of land and money, which has proved to be a good investment. The college has helped the town in many ways. Professor Margaret Evans was the first president of the town-improvement society, which did an important work in giving a decisive and permanent direction to public taste and in making neatness and attractiveness essential to the premises of every self-respecting citizen. The front fences have disappeared; the work of the lawn-mower is seen on every side; and such lawns as grow on this Minnesota loam, so dense and velvety, we seldom see the like of in the Eastern States. The improvements in private residences, in sanitary conditions, in the grading of the streets, in the water-works, and in many other respects, are ascribed to the influence of the improvement association.

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Nebraska and Nebraska City owe more to Mr. J. Sterling Morton, now Secretary of Agriculture, than to any other citizen. So remarkable have been the results of Arbor Day in Nebraska that as its originator he is gratefully recognized as the benefactor of the State. Proofs of such public appreciation I have found wherever I have been in Nebraska, which leads all the States in tree-planting. Mr. Morton's residence, Arbor Lodge, was the birthplace of Arbor Day, as well as an object-lesson in village improvement to Nebraska City, which now contains 12,000 inhabitants, and has waterworks, gas and electric lights, six miles of sewers, three and a half miles of street railways, four miles of paved streets, a public library and a hospital. The Park Association made the city park a fine specimen of landscape gardening. Morton Park, a well-wooded and beautiful tract of land of about twenty-five acres, was purchased by Mr. Morton for $4,600; and, after being laid out with drives and walks, prettily embellished with hundreds of evergreens and provided with a pavilion for music and public meetings, was presented to the city. In honor of their distinguished fellow-citizen the Old Settlers' Association of the county has erected in Morton Park a log cabin—a reproduction of his first home in Nebraska and a fit place for the reunion of the pioneers every summer. It is constructed of logs grown by the pioneers themselves since the settlement of Nebraska in 1854.

Evanston is the most progressive and prosperous of the many beautiful suburban towns around Chicago. It has all the modern improvements, such as gas, electricity, sewers, and street-cars, with broad well-shaded streets. It is the seat of the Northwestern University, situated in the centre of a native forest, a campus of forty-three acres, bordering on Lake Michigan. It is a city of elegant homes, mostly owned by the occupants. Thirteen years ago I was happily impressed by it, and since then its population has quadrupled. The movement for the Sheridan Drive was originated in Evanston. After repeated meetings of public-spirited citizens at the house of Mr. Volney W. Foster, the Sheridan Road Association was formed with Mr. Foster as president. That organization has proved a most effective village-improvement society, and has awakened great interest in a score of villages along the shore of Lake Michigan. Beginning with the Lake Shore Drive in Chicago, a part of its boulevard and park system, it already extends north for twenty-eight miles with a few short breaks, and will soon be completed to Waukegan, a distance of thirty-six miles. Its width ranges from fifty to one hun-

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dred feet. The longest continuous stretch of the drive of one hundred feet breadth is in Evanston, which has been the foremost of these lake-shore towns to further this enterprise. The drive affords good views of the lake at nearly all points. By permission of the United States officials, the road crosses the beautiful grounds of Fort Sheridan. At some places a landscape gardener has happily utilized ravines and bluffs with picturesque effect. One can travel thirty-six miles without crossing a railroad or swing-bridge. Such is the popular appreciation of this drive and so great are its benefits to these towns and to real-estate owners, that the proposal to extend it to Milwaukee, eighty-five miles from Chicago, is strongly favored by the Merchants' Association of Milwaukee. Where in this country is there another drive so excellent and extensive and so varied and beautiful in its surroundings, unless it be the fifty-three mile drive along the left bank of the Hudson River from Central Park to Cold Spring opposite West Point? But these beautiful towns are the product of nearly two centuries of growth and culture.

Next to Evanston, Oak Park is the ideal town near Chicago. Its characteristics correspond largely to those of Evanston, especially in the culture and high character of its citizens. Its admirable plan, with broad streets and spacious house-lots, and its development are due to the late Mr. James W. Scoville, who made his home there in 1857. His various gifts to the village of school, library, park, gymnasium, and the like exceed in value $300,000. He felt that he belonged not to himself but to the people of Oak Park, whom he sought to benefit and to ennoble, and by whom his memory is cherished with gratitude.

The Honesdale Improvement Association, organized less than four years ago and made up of women, but admitting men as honorary members, is the model society of Pennsylvania. It started vigorously with two hundred and fifty paying members. Its officers are influential women who have already shown great tact and zeal in awakening town pride and public spirit. The citizens and the local papers, irrespective of political parties, heartily support them. The Young People's Auxiliary Society, including the school children, is enlisted in protecting flower-beds and shrubbery, and in gathering waste-paper scraps into the neatly painted boxes suitably labelled and placed about the town. From the outset, the society advocated sanitation and improved sewerage even more than adornment. Its last official report enumerates many recent improvements and says:

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"Our society has worked its way into public recognition and favor, and its influence is felt and respected. We did not overestimate the public spirit of our townspeople and their hearty coöperation in our endeavors. This is notably the attitude of our town council in every appeal we have made to them. Our society is steadily growing and promises still better results in the future. Our streets now challenge admiration for their cleanness."

Though Honesdale is the largest coal-storing station in the world, the flower beds in the parks, even those near the large canal basin, are free from trespass. The crowds of boatmen evidently value and admire them. The town council could not have achieved what these women have with these great corporations. It was due to their tact and persistence that the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company removed nuisances and unsightly buildings, and that the telegraph and electric companies have painted all their poles in the town, having first removed advertisements. The society has received liberal gifts from former residents, among others from Mr. Henry W. Box of Buffalo.

Montclair has long been one of the most progressive towns of New Jersey. In March, 1878, there was a prompt response to a lecture on village improvement. A committee on tree-planting started the next morning to purchase hundreds of trees, with which the streets were soon lined. It was by the persistent work of the Wednesday Afternoon Club, a circle of women, that a free public library was opened a year ago. Last April the Woman's Town-Improvement Association was organized. It began its work with thoroughness and enthusiasm. At monthly meetings the needs of the town were systematically considered. Twelve committees were appointed to report on the subjects assigned to them at the first semi-annual meeting. It was my privilege to hear the admirable, business-like reports given by the chairman of each of these committees. Of the many women's improvement societies now working so successfully, none, within my knowledge, started with so many members or planned so comprehensively or has accomplished so much in the first six months of its history. The occupation of the bill-poster and of the distributor of circulars and handbills has gone. The nuisance of defacing trees, telegraph poles, and fences by nostrum venders was at once abolished. The sanitary committee effectively urged the wisest hygienic provisions. State laws and ordinances of the town council which had long been a dead letter are now rigidly enforced by the new public sentiment which the women have created. Town officials admit that where they failed these women have succeeded. School

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buildings and shops in most towns are surrounded with paper scraps and the like. But in a recent drive about Montclair I found even these premises exceptionally neat and tidy. The contrast between what I observed then and on earlier visits was great. The young folks, too, are effectively enlisted in keeping the streets clean. The eleven hundred members of the Young People's Auxiliary Society have signed a pledge agreeing to "work together in making Montclair a happier place in which to live by doing everything we can to make the town more healthful and beautiful." Encouraged also by their teachers these eleven hundred children have proved faithful gleaners in filling the galvanized iron waste-boxes with defacing papers and the like. Better even than the cleanness of the streets are the habits of neatness thus formed and the local pride and patriotism thus early fostered.

The Springfield (Massachusetts) Improvement Society is a good illustration of the usefulness of such societies in cities. It was formed six years ago "to cultivate public sentiment in beautifying the homes, streets, and surroundings of Springfield and to promote in every legitimate manner the best development of the whole city." Its first work was to build a large floating bath-house. Window-gardening in the winter was encouraged by the free distribution of thousands of imported bulbs and by the offer of prizes for the best results. Another aim of the society was to improve the streets and roads, especially the approaches to the city. A drive, in 1889, of several hours about the city and its suburbs convinced me that their inferiority was due, as is the case in many other places, to the lack of experience and skill of the road-makers. The obvious remedy was to lift the roads, as we do the schools, out of politics. But the chief object of this society and its grandest achievement was to develop public sentiment in favor of securing what is now Forest Park. This magnificent park, of three hundred and forty acres and one and one-half miles in length, is mainly the result of private munificence. The city purchased only ninety-three acres. Mr. Orrick H. Greenleaf started the movement by the gift of nearly one hundred acres. In answer to the remark, "You must feel happy in having initiated this work," he said to me: "Yes, I have taken far more pleasure in seeing so many people enjoy these grounds, than I could possibly have done in any private use of the same amount of money." Mr. Everett H. Barney has given his beautiful homestead, containing 110 acres, to this park. Having made Springfield heir to his beautiful estate, he has been happily occupied in improving it for the benefit of the public.

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James Hillhouse, of New Haven, Connecticut, more than one hundred years ago organized the "Public Green Association" and raised $1,500 for "grading the green and planting elms," one man giving five gallons of rum. For such devotion to his town, he is more honored to-day in New Haven than for all his valued services during twenty years as United States Senator in Washington and in many official positions at home. Mr. Hillhouse began modestly, with scant means, and when New Haven was a small place. His influence and example are still felt in maintaining a healthful local pride, insuring liberal appropriations from the city and large gifts from individuals for public improvements. A beautiful trait in the character of William Cullen Bryant was his devotion to his native town of Cummington, Massachusetts, to which he gave a library building, reading-room, and library with a fund for its custody and increase; and he provided for the maintenance of the old homestead and made similar benefactions to his adopted town, Roslyn, New York, which he did much to adorn and improve in other ways.

The founding of public libraries, indeed, is now the commonest expression of such munificence; and the establishment of a library is often one of the aims of these village-improvement societies. At Pasadena, California, for example, the Village-Improvement and Library Association, formed fourteen years ago, recently built a beautiful library, and it originated the wise and liberal plans that have made Pasadena the model town of Southern California. Massachusetts, however, has more of these improvement societies and more free libraries than any other State. Munificent gifts have been made to them, both in books and in money, the gifts of money amounting to about $6,000,000. More than fifty libraries bear the names of their founders, and three hundred and twenty-seven of the towns and cities of Massachusetts have free public libraries. Of the remaining thirty-one towns, nearly all have association or subscription libraries, some of them quite extensive. Nothing has reflected more credit upon this State during the past forty years than the multiplication of free libraries. No other equal area on the globe is so well supplied with such institutions. The act legalizing their support by taxation has stood the test of experience. The example of Massachusetts has led to the enactment of a similar law and the multiplication of libraries in many other States. Less than ten years ago, Massachusetts had more than one-half the free public libraries in this country.

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"How may we organize an improvement society where there is little public spirit?" is a practical question frequently asked. Experience shows that the best way to begin this work is to interest all classes by a free lecture explaining the aims and results of societies elsewhere, and then at once to make an organization. It is essential to maintain an entire separation of local affairs from State or National politics. Indeed among the best services of an efficient local improvement society is the solvent it provides for the animosities of politics and religion in furnishing a safe common ground for the display of mutually beneficial activity. A society engaging all classes instead of one or two is bound to be more immediately successful than one that includes only one class or "set." The main difficulty is at the outset, and is due to the inertia of indifference or of ignorance of this subject. Most communities are likely to wait for the impulse of a leader. Many efficient associations have been formed by women, and of nearly all at least a part of the officers are women. If the executive committee numbers fifteen, I advise that eight should be women. There is a growing number of such societies comprised entirely of women, to which men are admitted as honorary members. Women succeed better in getting money and in securing the coöperation of all classes. At the start, the aims of an association should be few and explicit. The momentum given by successfully doing one task is great. The education of a community is a slow process, but once happily begun it advances with acceleration. But a wise start is imperative. Lead, but do not too far outstrip public opinion lest you excite stubborn prejudice. The founders of such an association, therefore, knowing the local conservatism, should propose to themselves the accomplishment at first of only "open, gross and palpable" improvements and then wait for the community to catch up with them. But the coöperation of all classes once aroused, there are few things that these societies cannot do. Their aims, varying of course with local needs, include municipal reform, sanitary improvements,—especially as to water supply and sewerage and disposal of waste,—the improvement of roads, of sidewalks, of parks, of school yards, and other public grounds,—especially grounds around railway stations,—providing drinking tanks and fountains, organizing free town libraries, and removing nuisances and front fences. They are the rural counterparts of the urban boards of trade, the organization of those who would really serve their town with no thought of loaves and fishes.

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Another practical question is, "How can we get the necessary money?" By membership fees, large or small according to the means and liberality of the community, by life-memberships ranging from $10 to $50 or more, by annual subscriptions, by fairs, by lectures, by concerts and other entertainments. Large gifts are often made by wealthy citizens and by natives no longer resident. Many whom fortune has favored are glad to show a grateful remembrance of their old homes. Thousands of dollars come in such filial gifts, and sometimes from unexpected sources. Money may be got by special attention to a particular need of the community. Such specific purposes are hinted at in names like these: "The Public Green Association," "The Tree-planting and Fountain Society," "The Road Association," "The Park Society," "The Improvement and Library Association." The essential thing is to hold before the people the most urgent needs of the town, and aim first of all to awaken civic patriotism. That once secured, all other things follow. It is desirable to get as much money as possible at the outset, so that noticeable results may be secured promptly in which the whole community is interested. The executive committee of an association should be carefully selected, for with it rests the ultimate success of the enterprise. It should make all contracts, expend all moneys, superintend all improvements, and hold meetings monthly from April to October. Due provision should be made against the executive committee's contracting debts beyond the amount of available means, and no member of the society should be liable for any of its debts beyond the amount of his subscription. It is desirable that each society should be incorporated; it is then more likely to receive gifts and legacies and to become permanent. In a large town the territory may be divided into districts and a special committee appointed to look after each district, and to report at the monthly meetings of the executive committee.

Gladstone says that more money has been accumulated in England during the last ninety years than in all the centuries since the time of Julius Cæsar. Is it not a fact of still higher significance that in this country, during the last forty years, more money has been given by men while living to their own towns than in all our previous history? How much such men are doing to make life worth living for themselves as well as for their fellow-townsmen!

B. G. Northrop.

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THE ANTITOXINE TREATMENT OF DIPHTHERIA.

THE announcement made to the world a few months ago that a specific remedy for diphtheria had been discovered excited an interest which has been paralleled only by that aroused by Koch's tuberculin. Such a scourge has this dread disease become and so unsuccessful have been the methods hitherto employed, both to prevent and to cure it, that the truth of this announcement could scarcely be believed. So often have the medical profession and the public been disappointed by similar reports that both have grown wary and incredulous. The evidence is accumulating every day, however, in support of the truth of the first reports, so that at the present time the value of the antitoxine treatment of diphtheria may be said to be admitted in the great medical centres of Europe and in New York City.

John Fiske has said that the discovery of America took a century. So the discovery of the new treatment for diphtheria is not a matter of the last few months alone but is the crowning result of work which has been carried on in the laboratories mainly of Berlin and Paris for the past fifteen years. It should be distinctly understood, then, that this is not an accidental discovery, like that of vaccination by Jenner, but the logical outcome of a long series of observations and experiments all being necessary to the final result. This has been accomplished through the labors of many independent workers embracing some of the ablest and best trained scientific minds in the world. But the two men whose names are most closely associated with the discovery of antitoxine are Roux of Paris and Behring of Berlin. These two men worked independently; but each was aided at different steps in his investigations by the work of the other. To both is due the greatest credit, and both have earned an enduring reputation.

Although these experiments have covered so wide a field, an outline of the steps by which the discovery was reached can be given in a few pages. And here it may be remarked incidentally that what has been learned regarding diphtheria is only one of the results of the work referred to. Almost as much light has been thrown upon tetanus (lock-jaw) and hydrophobia as upon diphtheria.

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For the germ theory of disease the world is indebted to Pasteur more than to any other man, perhaps more than to all other men. It was Pasteur who demonstrated first that fermentation and putrefaction, and afterward that certain contagious diseases also, were due to micro-organisms. In this early work, which was done over thirty years ago, the germ theory of infectious diseases had its origin. Since that time quite a number of infectious diseases have been shown to depend upon specific germs with whose appearances and life history the medical world has become more or less familiar; while the germs causing others have thus far eluded discovery.

In 1883, Klebs, a German pathologist, discovered in the membrane which covered the throats of patients suffering from diphtheria certain short rods of microscopic size. The presence of these in the membrane of diphtheria was so constant that he reached the conclusion that these microscopic bodies were germs and were closely associated with the disease, probably its cause. In 1884, Loeffler, another German investigator, succeeded in separating the germ of Klebs from the others with which it was associated and obtained it pure, or as it is technically called in "pure culture." With this he inoculated animals and succeeded in reproducing in them a disease similar to diphtheria in man. The bacillus of diphtheria discovered by Klebs and afterward separated in pure form by Loeffler is known to-day as the "Klebs-Loeffler bacillus." The work of Loeffler was taken up by bacteriologists all over the world and his experiments were repeated by many other observers, and by the year 1889 it was generally accepted throughout the world that the Klebs-Loeffler bacillus was the cause of diphtheria.

The discovery of the specific germ of diphtheria was, of course, the foundation of all subsequent work upon that disease. Many asked, "Of what use is this fact? We have always known diphtheria to be contagious, we have long believed it to be due to a micro-organism. It is of scientific interest to know the exact form and habits of the bacillus which causes diphtheria; but this has no practical value. It is of little or no assistance in the prevention and cure of the disease." And yet to-day the world is glorifying the work of these same patient experimenters, who labored at the so-called theoretical problems of medicine.

In the early study of germs and their relation to disease it was supposed that the symptoms of the disease depended directly upon the germs themselves. This, however, has been proven to be false

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with reference to most of the infectious diseases studied. Thus, in diphtheria, the bacilli were found, as a rule, only in the throat or upper air passages, while the effects of the disease were far-reaching, involving the heart, the nerves, and other distant parts of the body. This, and other like observations, led to the careful study of the products produced by the growth of bacteria. As the result of the work of Roux in Paris, and Brieger in Berlin, the exact nature of the toxic products of the diphtheria bacillus was discovered. It was found that this bacillus produces in its growth a poison which is known as the diphtheria *toxine*. This was isolated and injected into animals with the reproduction of all the symptoms of diphtheria excepting the membrane in the throat. The diphtheria toxine is a poison of almost incredible virulence. It is estimated to be at least seven hundred times as poisonous as morphine.

In the recent literature of diphtheria the terms "immunity" and "immunize" are constantly appearing. It is well perhaps to spend a moment in explaining exactly what is meant by these terms to-day. By immunity in disease is meant a condition in which the individual is insusceptible to the specific poison of that disease. We are all familiar with the immunity which is produced by one attack of many of the infectious diseases, for example, measles, scarlet fever, and small-pox. Certain persons by idiosyncrasy are insusceptible to the poison of some diseases. Children are sometimes seen who cannot be inoculated by vaccination. The protection which results from one attack of an infectious disease or the insusceptibility of an individual is known as natural immunity. Protection which is induced in other ways is known as artificial immunity. A great deal of work has been done to discover means of inducing such immunity.

In his early work upon splenic fever and chicken-cholera Pasteur, having established the causes of these diseases, set himself the task of discovering means of preventing them. After very many experiments he found that animals inoculated with the germs of splenic fever, when these germs had been cultivated at a relatively high temperature, were protected against the disease itself, while these inoculations themselves were harmless. This method of producing immunity or protection is known as that by "attenuated cultures," the virulence of the germs employed being very much reduced by the method of cultivation. He applied the same principle in chicken-cholera with the same result. These cultures were known as the *vaccine* of splenic fever and the *vaccine* of chicken-cholera. These

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methods of producing immunity have been extensively used in Europe for the past twenty years and have been of immense practical value.

With the discovery that it was not the bacteria themselves which produced most of the symptoms, but their poisonous products or toxines, new experiments in immunity were made by injecting these toxines into animals. It was found that if the quantity of the diphtheria toxine introduced was at first so small as not to kill the animal, the dose could gradually be increased until finally such a tolerance was established that the animal could resist enormous doses of it. Many theories were advanced as to the manner in which this tolerance was established. The conclusion was finally reached that it was due to the gradual production in the blood of larger and larger quantities of some substance which neutralized the toxine, *i.e.*, an *antitoxine*. This is looked upon as nature's means of protecting against the poison of the disease.

Later experiments showed that if some of the blood of an animal, which in this way had been made insusceptible to diphtheria, was injected into another animal, the latter likewise became to a certain degree and for a certain time insusceptible; that is to say, became "immunized." This discovery of a new method of producing immunity was a great step in advance and proved that there was contained in the blood a certain tangible something which possessed the power of neutralizing the poison of the diphtheria toxine, and which could be taken from one animal and given to another.

When once the point was established that the immunity of one animal could, so to speak, be transferred to another animal by injecting into the latter some of the blood-serum of the former, the next step was easy and natural. This was to study in animals the effect of the antitoxine, (1) *after* the injection of the diphtheria toxine; (2) after the production of diphtheria in animals by the injection of living bacilli. The results were most surprising. It was found that these animals would now tolerate, without much disturbance, a quantity of the toxine which if given alone would produce death; and in the second class of experiments it was found that the bacilli ceased to develop and the animals soon recovered. In brief, not only could the effect of the toxine be neutralized by subsequently injecting the antitoxine, but at the same time conditions were produced which rendered the further development of the bacilli difficult or impossible. This was the crowning discovery, and what had been found to be true of animals was speedily shown to be true of man.

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The present plan of producing antitoxine is somewhat as follows. Large animals, such as the horse or cow, are usually employed for purposes of injection. In the beginning as large a quantity of the toxine of diphtheria is injected as the animal will bear without danger to life. This toxine is obtained by cultivating the germs of diphtheria under favorable conditions and separating the living bacteria from their poisonous products by filtration or by destroying them by heat. The injections are usually made upon the side of the animals with an instrument similar to an ordinary hypodermic syringe. Following these injections there are decided symptoms produced. A large swelling appears at the point where the injection is made, which may cover the whole side of the animal. The temperature rises and there may be considerable prostration with marked loss in weight. If the dose has been too large the animal may die. The reactionary symptoms usually following the injections last from one to three days. After these have passed off a second injection is made, and subsequently others at intervals of a few days. It is found that the dose of the toxine can gradually be increased with each injection until enormous quantities can be tolerated. When this point is reached at which the injection of large amounts of the toxine produces no reaction, the animal is said to possess a high degree of immunity. At this time the blood-serum contains a very large amount of the antitoxine. A long time is required for the production of this condition, the period being from three to twelve months, according to the size of the animal, its susceptibility, and many other conditions.

The antitoxine is found not only in the blood but in the milk of animals which are experimented upon. When cows or goats are employed the progress made in immunity may be measured by the amount of antitoxine present in the milk, this being about one-twentieth as great as in the blood-serum. The strength of the antitoxine is tested from time to time during the course of the injections and when a certain standard is reached it is ready for use, and the animal is said to be "ripe." During the period of injections it is necessary for the animals to have the best of care or they may themselves succumb to the poison of the disease.

The antitoxine is obtained from the blood of the animal, generally by bleeding from the jugular vein. With the most careful antiseptic precautions, lest germs may accidentally be introduced, the vein is opened and from one to four quarts of blood is drawn into a sterilized vessel. After standing for a few hours this blood separates into

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a clot and a clear portion above which is known as the serum. The antitoxine is contained in the blood-serum. Its strength is now tested by seeing how much toxine it will neutralize. In this way the dosage is determined. The bleeding of the animal can be repeated after an interval of about four weeks; but the injection of the toxine must be continued.

The antitoxine is preserved in small bottles by the addition of one-half per cent of carbolic acid or some other antiseptic. A quantity sufficient for one dose is usually put up in a single bottle. The dose is measured by the number of antitoxine units contained: the unit being an arbitrary one referring to the amount of toxine which a given quantity of the antitoxine will neutralize.

It will readily be seen that the production of the antitoxine requires great care, the most thorough training and special knowledge. Immediately upon the discovery in France a law was passed forbidding the manufacture of antitoxine excepting at the Pasteur Institute, in order to keep out of the market an impure article which might not only be valueless, but even a source of very great danger. It is to be hoped that in this country a law for the protection of the public may soon be passed by which the production of antitoxine shall be controlled by competent bacteriologists.

Injections of the antitoxine are employed in the first place to prevent persons who have been exposed to diphtheria from contracting it; in other words, to "immunize" them. For this purpose a relatively small dose is needed. The exact duration of the immunity thus produced is unknown. It is believed to be comparatively short, only a few weeks or possibly months. Secondly, the antitoxine is used to cure patients affected with diphtheria. For both purposes injections are made beneath the skin, usually of the abdomen, with a large hypodermic syringe. The quantity of the serum injected at one time varies from two to four teaspoonfuls.

In marked contrast to the symptoms produced by the injection of the toxine are those resulting from the antitoxine. With the latter there is as a rule no pain, inflammation, swelling, rise of temperature, constitutional weakness, or depression. In fact there are ordinarily no symptoms seen excepting occasionally eruptions upon the skin, which are transient and of no practical importance. In most of the cases, but one injection when given early is required. In the more severe cases, or when the injections are begun at a later period, a second or even a third injection is made, usually at intervals of

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about twelve hours. The effect upon the local and general symptoms of diphtheria is in most cases striking. The temperature often falls two or three degrees in twenty-four hours. In the throat it is noticed first that the membrane ceases to spread; then that it is smaller, and finally that it loosens and comes away. Often in two or three days it has entirely disappeared.

Regarding injurious effects attributed to the remedy, such as an increase in the disposition of the disease to affect the kidneys, the testimony is as yet conflicting. The danger has not been shown to be of much importance, and the great majority of observers agree in the opinion that the injections are harmless.

Immediately upon the announcement of the discovery steps were taken toward the production of the antitoxine in this country. The Board of Health of New York City, at the instigation of Dr. H. M. Biggs, purchased a number of horses and systematic injections were commenced. At the present time forty-five horses are under treatment by injections, four or five of which were ready for the first bleeding by the middle of February. It is expected that by the first of March they will be able to supply the demand for antitoxine in and about New York City. A large part of the expense connected with this has been borne by the "New York Herald's" Antitoxine Fund, the Board of Health not having sufficient funds at its disposal with which to carry on the work.

There are other varieties of sore throat which in many respects resemble diphtheria but which are not due to the diphtheria bacillus. Upon these the antitoxine is without effect. It becomes then a matter of the first importance to separate the cases of *true* diphtheria from those of the other group which are known as *false* diphtheria. In many instances the symptoms are sufficiently characteristic to enable one to be reasonably certain from them alone with which form he has to deal. There are others, however, which are impossible to distinguish without making cultures from the throat.

The purpose of the throat-cultures is to discover the presence or absence of the diphtheria bacillus. This method is now employed in all the children's hospitals of Europe, and in most of those in America. The Board of Health of New York City has set an example to the world in the facilities it has afforded for the diagnosis of diphtheria by cultures. From any one of a dozen different stations scattered about the city, any physician who has a case of suspected diphtheria may obtain two tubes, one of which contains a substance resembling

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gelatin which is the soil upon which the bacilli grow. The other tube contains a sterilized swab which is made by twisting a bit of cotton upon a small wire. The swab is rubbed over the tonsils or affected part of the throat and then over the surface of the gelatin, and returned to the station from which the tubes were obtained. At four o'clock every day collections are made from all these stations. The tubes are taken to the laboratory of the Board of Health and put in an incubator, where they are kept at about the temperature of the body until the next morning.

About each one of the bacteria lodged upon the culture-medium a growth of germs takes place known as a "colony." These are stained and examined microscopically by an expert and the report sent at once to the physician. This enables every physician in the city to obtain in twenty-four hours the opinion of an expert upon every case of suspected diphtheria as to the presence or absence of the diphtheria bacillus. Work on such a scale as this has not yet been attempted by any other city in the world. To Dr. H. M. Biggs and Dr. W. H. Park belongs the credit of introducing this system in New York. The Board of Health has lately appointed six physicians as inspectors of diphtheria who will visit every case reported, make cultures from the throats, and when desired by the physician in attendance will personally make injections of the antitoxine. At the same time other persons who have been exposed will receive injections in order to secure protection or immunity. The plan followed at the present time is to give an injection to every person having a suspicious sore throat. At the same time a culture is made to discover whether or not the case is one of true diphtheria. If the case turns out to be one of false diphtheria no harm has been done, while if it prove to be one of true diphtheria the patient has the advantage of having the inoculation made at the earliest possible moment.

In Berlin one hundred and thirty children who had been exposed to diphtheria were injected for the purpose of protection; of this number but two contracted the disease, both in a mild form.

A very interesting experiment in immunity has been made at the New York Infant Asylum. In the country branch of this institution, consisting of a group of cottages, containing about three hundred and fifty children, diphtheria was epidemic in the months of September, October, and November of 1894. Since that time, though the force of the epidemic has abated, new cases have continued to appear every few days. Between January 1, 1895, and January 16, eleven

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cases occurred. At this date antitoxine was injected into two hundred and twenty-five children, this including every child at the institution who had not previously suffered from diphtheria. The results were most striking. Not a single case of diphtheria developed among the children until February 3, when one child was attacked.

The mortality of diphtheria in Paris in thirty-nine hundred hospital cases treated during the four years preceding the introduction of antitoxine was 52 per cent. Of the first three hundred hospital cases of true diphtheria treated with antitoxine the mortality was but 26 per cent. There are included in these three hundred, only cases in which the diphtheria bacillus was found. At the same time that these cases were treated by antitoxine in one hospital, five hundred and twenty cases were treated in another, without it, with a mortality of 60 per cent; showing that the results obtained by the antitoxine could not be explained by the fact that a milder type of disease was then prevailing. Even 26 per cent seems a high mortality, but it is to be remembered in reading these statistics that every case of diphtheria admitted to the hospital during a certain period was injected, no matter how far advanced the disease was nor how hopeless the condition of the patient.

The later reports from Paris are even more encouraging. In two hundred and thirty-one additional cases the mortality was but 14½ per cent; showing that with a better understanding of the use of the antitoxine and greater skill in preparing it, the results have been steadily improving. It is difficult to imagine the excitement which has been produced in Paris by this discovery. Not only the medical profession but the public have gone wild over it in true French fashion. The whole interest of the Pasteur Institute is now centred in the production of the serum, and new hospital accommodations for diphtheria have been provided with every appliance for securing the very best results.

While the Germans were a little later in getting into the field with the treatment than the French, the results in Berlin have been no less gratifying than in Paris. The mortality in one hospital, for three years before the introduction of the antitoxine, was 40 per cent in one thousand and eighty-one cases of diphtheria treated. Of the first two hundred and seventy-four cases treated by the new remedy, the mortality was but 15½ per cent; while among seventy-two cases injected on the first or second day, there were but two deaths. A later report of one hundred and seventeen additional cases gives

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a mortality of $11\frac{1}{10}$ per cent in a hospital (Charité) where the average mortality for the past four years has been 56 per cent. In another hospital (Friedrichshain), whose records for the past thirteen years show an average mortality of $43\frac{3}{10}$ per cent, two hundred and twenty-five cases treated with the antitoxine gave a mortality of 24 per cent. This is the more significant as in the other cases treated at the same time without the serum the mortality was 41 per cent.

In the Children's Hospital in Vienna (St. Ann's) the first one hundred cases treated with the serum gave a mortality of 24 per cent. Among these cases the proportion of very severe cases was large, and many were admitted late in the disease. Another Vienna physician (Monti) had reported twenty-five cases with but one death. A friend of the writer was in Vienna when the first cases were treated. The reports referred to are of cases treated under the supervision of two physicians, both of whom frankly avowed at the outset that they had no faith whatever in the new plan of treatment. Yet both in a few months became enthusiastic advocates of it.

Experience at home has been as yet quite limited, owing to the difficulty in obtaining the serum from abroad and the time required for its production here. Up to the present time there have been over two hundred cases of diphtheria treated by antitoxine in and near New York City. There have been treated at the Willard Parker Diphtheria Hospital, by serum obtained from Germany, sixty cases with sixteen deaths. In six of these the disease had advanced so far that death occurred within twelve hours after admission, and these cases might fairly be excluded in considering the results. With the serum produced in New York thirty cases have now been treated, and of these but six have resulted fatally. At the present time (February 6) about one hundred cases have been injected by the Inspectors of the Board of Health, with six or seven deaths. The above statements are made upon the authority of Dr. W. H. Park, of the Board. No death has occurred in the cases where the injection was made on the first or second day of the disease.

In the New York Infant Asylum there have been treated twenty-one cases with five deaths. These results were obtained in children most of whom were under three years of age. For two of the deaths the antitoxine could in no way be held responsible. In the Nursery and Child's Hospital thirteen cases have been treated, nearly all in children under three years, with two deaths. One of these was due to pneumonia which developed four days after the patient was con-

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valescent from diphtheria. The other case was that of a feeble infant, weighing but six pounds, who lived but four hours after the injection. In this same institution the mortality last year from diphtheria was 70 per cent, this death-rate being mainly due to the tender age of the patients. In all the above reports only cases proved by cultures to be true diphtheria have been included.

In addition to the above statistics taken from institutions a considerable number of cases have now been treated in private practice with correspondingly good results. It is certainly encouraging that those who have seen the most of the antitoxine treatment are its most enthusiastic advocates.

In estimating the value of the published reports it should be known that the majority of these have been made by men who had seen much of diphtheria and who know well what its natural course is. Also that care has been taken to exclude all cases of "false" diphtheria or those in which the diphtheria bacillus was absent, and that these make up a very large proportion of the mild cases once included as diphtheria. The striking and immediate fall in the mortality in hospitals for diphtheria, from 40 or 50 per cent to from 10 to 26 per cent as in the reports given, is too marked to be accidental, especially when it has been noted in all parts of the world where the treatment has been tried. But after all has been said, the personal observation of cases, even though this number is not large, is more convincing than any statistics. It is this which has made a convert of almost every observer to the new treatment.

The deaths from diphtheria in New York City alone have been in recent years nearly two thousand a year. In the United States it is estimated from the most reliable statistics available that nearly forty thousand persons, mainly children, die every year from this disease. If the death-rate is reduced but one-fourth it will mean a saving of ten thousand lives a year; yet every indication is that it will do much more than this. One must certainly be guarded against drawing too hasty conclusions from the limited experience which has thus far been had with this remedy. From a review of the reports cited above and from personal knowledge of the results obtained in two institutions, the following conclusions with reference to the new treatment seem to the writer to be warranted:

1. We have in the antitoxine a remedy of undoubted value in the treatment of diphtheria.

2. Sufficient evidence has not yet been adduced to show that this

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remedy produces bad results when injected either into healthy persons for protection or immunity, or into those suffering from diphtheria.

3. The evidence seems sufficient to establish the fact that in a child previously healthy, uncomplicated diphtheria may be cured in nearly every instance when injections are made upon the first or second day of the disease, excepting only those cases in which the disease begins in the larynx (membranous croup).

4. In cases of diphtheria of the larynx (membranous croup) the present mortality (about 70 per cent) is likely to be very much reduced; how much it is now impossible to say. The effects of the serum injection are less striking here because death often results from the local disease rather than from constitutional infection.

5. There are many cases of diphtheria in which a fatal result is not so much due to the infection of the diphtheria bacillus as to the associated infection with other germs (streptococci). The products of the latter are in no way neutralized by antitoxine treatment. These germs are the most common cause of the broncho-pneumonia which is so frequent and so fatal a complication of diphtheria. In these cases of "mixed infection" so good results are not to be expected as in the simple cases.

6. When the injections are made late in the disease the benefit which results will depend upon the degree of general poisoning which has already taken place, for the patient may have already absorbed a sufficient amount of poison to cause death.

7. For the production of immunity the injections of the antitoxine will certainly be of very great value to protect those exposed to the disease when complete quarantine is impossible; also to protect nurses and others who are in close contact with the disease. How complete this immunity is and how long it lasts future experience must determine.

In conclusion a word should be said upon the possibilities in the treatment of all infectious diseases which are opened up by this discovery. What has been found to apply to diphtheria has already been proven to be true of another infectious disease, tetanus or lockjaw, and it is not improbable that it may be applied to many other diseases due to specific germs.

L. Emmett Holt, M.D.

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A WEEK IN NEW YORK THEATRES.

I recently heard an argument on the present condition of dramatic art in the United States. The two disputants were actors, one being of the old-fashioned romantic school, and the other a young Englishman imported into this country because of his accent, his ability to wear dress clothes without awkward embarrassment, and his willingness to accept compensation according to an English standard of payment. The old-school actor affirmed that in the present method of theatrical management dramatic art was entirely lost to sight and that commercial considerations alone were potent in establishing a line of policy; that the managers had, therefore, become merely purveyors of "amusement"; that this had lasted so long and these conditions were so generally prevalent in the English-speaking world that there was now no longer any chance for young men and young women to be instructed in the profession of acting, or to be drilled in its practice so that they might become accomplished artists. To these general statements the young Englishman did not assent, but the older man became only the more definite in his asseverations of dramatic decadence and said: "There is not a company in New York to-day equal in capacity to the companies of stock actors that twenty years ago might have been found in the cities of the third and fourth class, cities such as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, and New Orleans. Nowadays a company can play one or two or even three pieces in a season; twenty years ago the companies of stock actors could play six pieces in a week, and play them all admirably well. It used to be that an actor had to be a hard-working student. Now he is expected to be only a dude and a fashion-plate."

This was rather more than the young Englishman could stand. "The times have changed, you know," he replied, "and the people don't want the old comedies and tragedies and melodramas. They want a bit of the real thing, don't you know; they want to see ladies and gentlemen as they are in their own homes, you know; they want to learn from real ladies and gentlemen how to act in their own lives, and so the stage to-day is a school of manners, and deuced good manners are taught, I take it."

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To make up my own mind about the matter I concluded to devote a week to theatre-going. Here is a kind of diary of the week, a record of what I saw and what I thought of it.

Monday Evening, January 21, 1895.—I went to the Standard Theatre to see Mr. William Gillette in "Too Much Johnson," said to be an adaptation from the French by Mr. Gillette. The piece is a farce from beginning to end, and most immoral and coarse, without relief. It entirely lacks probability, and therefore the immorality and coarseness do not shock as they otherwise would, because the audience is merely amused with the complications without thinking of their cause. And the audience was unquestionably amused, indeed I may say that the audience was delighted. The humor was on such broad lines that a very dullard could not have missed it, but the single bit of sentiment in the piece was misunderstood by more than half of those present, for they laughed when it was meant that they should have been touched into silence and moved to sigh in time to the slow music of the orchestra. This, I am told, is the most successful piece in town. Surely no man of nice and discriminating taste would care to see it a second time. Mr. Gillette, the chief actor, probably built the play for the purpose of exhibiting his own peculiar skill as a comedian, or rather as a character-actor. The other players in the farce were merely foils for him. The audience was made up mainly of strangers in the city. I am afraid not much was contributed this evening toward my education in theatrical matters.

Tuesday Evening, January 22.—I went to the Broadway Theatre to see Victorien Sardou's "Madame Sans Gêne." This is a translation from the original French into very colloquial English with frequent interpolations of very modern American slang. Of Sardou's work I need not speak, though the rendering of his pieces in English occupies very much of the time of American actors. This particular piece, of which the wife of Marshal Lefebvre is the central figure, was mounted with admirable gorgeousness, the scenery being made with a carefulness of detail and a picturesqueness of effect unknown on the American stage twenty years ago. The play requires forty-two actors, and at least twenty of these have important speaking parts. Therefore to produce the drama even tolerably well a very competent company is needed. This company, I am told, was selected for this particular play, and it was evident that the two principal parts having been filled, "Madame Sans Gêne" and "Napoleon," the rest

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of the characters had to be confided to players somewhat less in capacity than those who, when they were on it, dominated the stage. The part of Napoleon was acted by a man who must have had more experience in low comedy than in the portrayal of such a character as the one he was now called upon to assume, for he was apparently unable to restrain a habit of making grimaces and resorting to other cheap tricks to give emphasis to his meaning and feeling. His "Napoleon," therefore, was lacking entirely in distinction of manner and devoid of impressiveness. When he sat quite still he looked very like the Napoleon the painters have made us familiar with, but when he moved or spoke the illusion was almost completely destroyed. He is probably a very creditable actor in parts not above his capacity and beyond the range of his talents, but Napoleon in this play or in any other must always be very much too much for him. It must have been easy to get ten or fifteen men who were less in ability than this principal man, and yet it must have been very difficult to get them with this minus qualification and still possessed of capacity enough to act the other parts with intelligence. And yet this was done, for the men showed intelligence or they had been drilled into a semblance of it. The young woman who played "Madame Sans Gêne" did her part capitally, acting with artistic finish throughout. Women do not step from the drawing-room or the amateur stage, and act with the finish this young woman displays, without much training at the hands of good masters. The other women in the play did not have a great deal to do, but what they had to do they did very badly indeed.

Any one seeing this play by this company will be struck with the many different accents employed by the actors. The men varied somewhat in their method of speech from Cockney English to New York colloquialism, but the women exhibited a wonderful variety, ranging all the way from the nasal twang of Indiana to the spurious English affected by those who imagine that the use of a broad "a," irrespective of its position in a word, accomplishes irreproachable elegance. Surely some conventional method of pronunciation and accent is badly needed on the American stage, if the players I saw this evening fairly represent the methods of the rank and file of actors now in active practice of their profession. Twenty years or so ago actors were considered to be the best possible authority on spoken language. I doubt much whether there be many of them in America to-day who would be appealed to on such a subject. But notwithstanding the imperfections that have been noted the performance was

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enjoyable. That's the word—it was enjoyable: enjoyable because the pictures on the stage were beautiful and grateful to the eye and because the drama had been constructed by a master in the art. With the exception, however, of the young woman who took the title part, there was no acting above mediocrity in quality, and therefore little promise given of great things after a while from any other member of the company. The audience, it may be said, was discriminatingly appreciative. It was in a very great measure a New York audience.

Wednesday Evening, January 23.—I went to Abbey's Theatre to see Mr. and Mrs. Kendal in Sidney Grundy's comedy, "A White Lie." This is an English society-play performed by English actors. As English pieces are more frequently acted in America than those made by native playwrights, and as English actors are more conspicuous than native players, an investigator of the condition of the dramatic art in America cannot afford to turn away without giving consideration to these aliens. The last time before this that I had seen the Kendals was in that very risky comedy, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray." The critics who write for the daily papers were pretty well agreed that Mrs. Kendal destroyed by her ineptitude whatever there was of artistic merit in that comedy. But here was a play built to order, constructed specially to enable this excellent couple to exhibit themselves to the best advantage. Here, I thought, I was likely to see "the real thing" the young English actor had mentioned; now I was about to sit in a school of manners and learn how to conduct myself in my own life. The comedy was a rather slow affair, but, though prosy in dialogue, smooth withal and the work of a man of experience, if not of originality. More than this it is not worth while noting, though the record would be faulty without mentioning the fact that in this play, as in most other English plays of recent years, the complications are brought about by frank attacks on chastity, and the suspense of the play depends upon the doubt as to whether the seducer will succeed or fail. The disposition to deal in such material probably arises from the fact that we recognize the artistic achievements of the French, and fancy that because the French are nasty we must be nasty too or not be artistic. Of course, such a view is foolish, but it appears to be the view of the modern English playwright and must not be ignored. In this particular play of course the villain was frustrated in his designs, and the imperilled woman was saved in spite of herself. Now how was this done? It was done so bluntly that no person of average intelligence in the audience failed to know

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what the next three acts would be after the curtain fell on the first act and the drama had been introduced to the stage. Mrs. Kendal played to her American audience just as she would to a middle-class English audience heavy with beef and puddings and sleepy with beer. She left nothing to the imagination, and reminded one of the person who repeats a borrowed joke and then explains the points of it with laborious detail. A fine, large, portly, healthy, middle-aged woman, she sacrificed her gifts of nature to trip around the stage, usually set for a drawing-room, with the mincing steps of a little "soubrette." And yet there was not a line in the play nor a situation in it that demanded such grievous sacrifices. If this were the "real thing," then surely in real life I had never come across it; nor indeed had I seen exactly this kind of "real thing" on the stage before. Mr. Kendal played his part in a frank and manly way, and evidently is quite capable of doing the "real thing" when he has the opportunity. But in this instance the business of the play required that the English baronet he represented should do things which no gentleman in any part of the world, not fallen into senility, could ever do. So here we were not given the "real thing" in any strong measure, and instruction in manners was entirely denied us.

Thursday Evening, January 24.—I went to the Lyceum Theatre to see another English society comedy, "The Case of Rebellious Susan," by Henry Arthur Jones. The people of this drama were taken from what in England is called the upper middle-class, as there was an Admiral and a Queen's Counsel in the play, though the heroine appears to have belonged before her marriage to the nobility itself. Here again I thought we should see the "real thing." That we did not see it was surely more the fault of the playwright than the players. Ladies do not make speeches in semi-public when they have discovered that their husbands have been unfaithful. They do not write letters to their friends telling the why and wherefore of their misery. But we must not be too particular as to such points, else we should make the modern playwright's task too hard for him. But we must note, however, that in this play too the first complication arose from a husband's unchastity, and the remaining suspense was as to whether the wife would also be unclean. This playwright also appears to have an idea that art in France owes everything to French nastiness. The leading man in the play is the best actor I have so far seen this week. Indeed he is no mean artist, for he played the part of an everyday man of the world, a man without crotchets or

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eccentricities, the kind of man we meet in the law courts, in the clubs, and in society, with a total lack of exaggeration and with a seeming unconsciousness which made the part closely approximate nature. In marked contrast to him was the actor who played the part of the elderly admiral. He exaggerated everything to a most tedious degree, and whenever he was on the stage almost completely destroyed the illusion. This actor has a great reputation, and unless I am mistaken he was educated in the old school, the passing away of which we are asked to lament. If very many of the exponents of that school were like to this gentleman we may withhold our tears. In the play there were two "character parts"—character parts being those which represent persons so extraordinary in their peculiarities that no thought of probability or of ordinary considerations for naturalness need be given to their portrayal. I put down this definition with considerable diffidence. I think, however, that the theatre-going public understands "character" acting to be as I have defined it. The man who played the "character part" was immensely amusing, and, as the man who calls out the attractions of the circus side-show says, he alone was worth the price of admission. The woman with the "character part" was a good enough foil to her companion when one became sufficiently accustomed to her voice not to be startled whenever she spoke. Why a person with such a voice should ever have thought of the stage as a career passes comprehension. Two of the other women were clever and capable, and by their naturalness and ease of manner they showed themselves worthy professional associates of the excellent leading man of whom I have spoken. But the heroine of the play, burdened with impossible things to do, did as badly as possible and spoiled all that part of the play that depended upon the illusion she was to create or sustain. This also was a New York audience, critical of the acting, appreciative, and quick to respond to the humor of the situations.

Friday Evening, January 25.—I went to Daly's Theatre to see "The Railroad of Love," a comedy adapted from the German. I never saw the original comedy, but there could have been little of it retained in this adaptation save the scheme, for the play as it is produced at Daly's is in everything save the scheme entirely American. And what it is interesting to note just here is the fact that the players in the cast appeared also to be Americans, although I cannot be sure about this. To come across a company in the main American is at once gratifying and worthy of note.

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This gratification is enhanced by the fact that this company of American players is made up of men and women who are not only competent but accomplished. Indeed this is so generally recognized that Mr. Daly's company is usually spoken of as the first company in the country, and I am persuaded that it is right and proper that the company should be so spoken of. Without calling on any outsiders to assist, this company can perform a wide range of plays, embracing the more poetical of Shakespeare's dramas, the eighteenth-century comedies, and the farces that are merely of the day. And in whatever of these the company appears the requirements at least of the public are met. The performances, to be sure, are not above criticism, but they are good, good enough to justify the most critical man in sitting them through and then going away with the satisfaction of not taking with him wounded sensibilities and a feeling that his taste has been trifled with. Sometimes, indeed often, the feeling is much more positive, and the audience goes away filled with warm enthusiasm. On the whole, however, the company comes out more strongly in farces than in the more ambitious plays, for in farces the actors appear to be more at home and to be doing more congenial work than at any other time. In the play this evening there was no French nastiness invoked in the name of art, and marital infidelity had nothing to do with the plot. Whether this was due to German wholesomeness or not I do not know, but it was a very pleasant change. There were continual movement and animation, plenty of fun, and just enough of sentiment to give seriousness to the quietly changing situations. The manner in which this company produces a comedy is so well known to the theatre-goers both in this country and England that it is not worth while noting how this player and that acted. The audience was made up chiefly of New York people, and it was enthusiastic in its appreciation and applause.

Saturday Evening, January 26.—I went to the Fifth Avenue Theatre to see Fanny Davenport in Victorien Sardou's romantic drama, "Gismonda." This is a great play, picturesque, romantic, poetical. The scene of the drama is in Athens in the fifteenth century, when the Acciajuoli, an opulent family of Florence, ruled in that ancient city. The author with unfailing skill has constructed a play filled with thrilling episodes and dramatic situations. To perform it acceptably, however, a company is needed of great strength. In incompetent hands the play is spoiled in every part and all together. And it was in most incompetent hands this evening, for,

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with two exceptions, the players appeared to have been selected because they did not know how to play. The actors who played the parts of "Basiliades," a blind doctor, and "Thisbe," the godmother of "Gismonda," were both competent. The "star" of the piece is a lady who may be said to have been born on the stage, as her father and mother were both actors of distinction and her own career extends back almost thirty years. She has had very great experience in stock companies, where it was demanded of her that she should know and play a great variety of parts, and since then for some ten years past she has been a "star" and has managed her own company. Although one of the best-known and most highly esteemed actresses in the country, she has acquired so little art that there is never a moment in the whole play when an observer cannot see the machinery that moves her, the methods she employs to produce results. Nothing that she does produces the slightest thrill. When we should tremble with excitement or weep in sympathy we merely smile in derision and wonder why such a lot of people should be inconsiderate enough as to take part in a five-act play. But even the severest ordeal ends after a while, and so at last the curtain fell on the last act of this beautiful drama, ruined by the sad incompetence of those who produced it. The stage-manager and the scene-makers had done their full duty to one of the best dramas Sardou has constructed. This was a New York audience in the main, and the great majority of the people in it seemed tired before the play was over.

For twenty years past I have observed the tendency of theatrical management and have noted its progress toward the condition at which it has now arrived. The managers, in apology for a condition for which they express no pride, say that they do but give the public that which the public wishes. The newspaper managers who fill their papers with unclean things make the same excuse. But neither excuse is good. The taste of the theatre-going public becomes vitiated to some extent by that which it is fed upon, but it is the producer who is responsible for the quality of the food and not the consumer, who must take what is given to him or go without. And to very, very many persons the theatre has such commanding attractions that they are glad to go without regard to the character of the entertainment. They prefer that the play shall be good and the acting fine, but better a thousand times bad plays and bad acting than no plays at all.

Another excuse not infrequently set forth is that New York

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people are not theatre-goers and that in a New York audience the great body of the house usually consists of visitors to the city, sojourners at the hotels. These strangers, who are away from their homes, the managers say, do not care for artistic performances but crave amusement pure and simple. It was with this in mind that I noted at each of the performances I attended the general character of the audience. I am persuaded that the New York people are great theatre-goers and that they attend out of habit whether the shows be good, bad, or indifferent. It may be that there are fifty thousand strangers in New York every night. There are surely two hundred and fifty thousand New Yorkers of the same social and material condition, and it is entirely probable that the audiences are very nearly in that proportion, five New Yorkers to one stranger.

The managers, if I have correctly represented their attitude toward the business in which they are engaged, take a strictly commercial view of the whole matter. And when the commercial view dominates the artistic view then the latter is sure to suffer. This is so in every field of artistic endeavor; it only happens that just now the dramatic art is conspicuously subordinated to commercial control. Actors, men and women trained to give artistic expression to dramatic works, do not control one theatre in New York. Instead of that the actors who play on the stage in the metropolis are merely hired servants of speculators in the "amusement line" of business. These men act upon the business principle that the way to make money is to buy cheap and to sell dear. The consequence is that all considerations of dramatic art are lost sight of, the high mission of the theatre is degraded, and the noble art of acting almost wholly neglected.

Now, how have the actors themselves contributed to this condition of affairs and to their own undoing? They have not done so consciously, nor have they done it willingly, nor is the public to be blamed as a party to this work. Two generations ago the manager was merely a ticket-seller and a ticket-taker, a runner of errands, a business agent. The actors decided what play would be produced and made the cast of parts. Sometimes, to be sure, actors were also managers in the sense that they attended to all the details of theatrical business. But it is rare indeed that we find in the same person the artistic temperament and a capacity for business. More frequently than not, therefore, the actors were glad, so long as they held control of the stage itself, to surrender business management to purely business men. The introduction of gorgeous and expensive scenery made

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the theatrical business more hazardous than formerly, and the men who controlled the receipts little by little became all-powerful and the actors sunk to the humble and uninfluential position of hired men, servants who must obey the masters who had in a sense enslaved them. And that is the condition of theatrical affairs in New York and in America to-day.

If the managers in addition to the splendid scenery provide us also with good plays and with good actors, then we should have no ground for complaint, for the dramatic art would flourish in spite of these unkind conditions. Actors are not better than their opportunities, and the actors of the present generation, say the men and women who have gone on the stage within the last fifteen years, have not had opportunities to cultivate and school themselves in the beautiful art to which they have given their lives. At the most a New York theatre puts on only half a dozen plays, and therefore an actor has only in a year to study half a dozen parts. There is, therefore, no school of dramatic art, and moreover there is no place for the healthy exercise of dramatic talents. Now, actors are not different from other artists. They need instruction in the first place, and then an opportunity for practice. The modern theatrical management denies them both instruction and opportunity, and therefore as a general thing the stage is filled with mere mummers who cannot act even tolerably well. The actors are not blameworthy, for they can no more help acting badly according to any high standard of judgment than the young man who depends upon a rural tailor can help dressing out of the fashion.

In a former generation we had better actors than now because the conditions were exactly the opposite of what they are to-day. The old-fashioned company of stock actors was quite different from the stock company of actors now directed by theatrical managers. Formerly a man was taken into a company because of his ability to play a certain range of parts. These parts he had in stock, and hence he was a stock actor. Now the theatrical manager needs a half-dozen men and a half-dozen women, so he hires them and keeps them in stock, and so has a stock company. It will be perceived that there is quite a difference between the former and the present method of organization. An average company of stock actors a generation ago would very likely produce in a season one hundred plays. They did not stay with one piece in one place till they wore their welcome out, but they stayed in one place all the time and always won their wel-

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come by ever producing different plays. This was the reason that most acting was better in a former generation than now. It may be that the older actors were better educated before they began their artistic career than the actors now are, for the common schools and the daily newspapers have been very powerful factors in the spread of that half-knowledge which is more crippling than entire ignorance.

There is to be observed on the stage as it exists in New York today a great striving at realism, an effort similar to that made in other branches of art. Realism on the stage must be very difficult, for I have rarely seen it even approached. The character-actors produce good results with very little effort, for their parts in the very nature of things require them to be as unreal as possible. But when a man or woman on the stage attempts to be real, the attempt is nearly always pretty bad. It appears to be recognized that to give an appearance of reality on the stage the actor must exaggerate a trifle for the purpose of accentuation, and so that the performance shall not be colorless. I have seen this done in exactly the right degree, so the achievement is possible. But such successes are very rare indeed. I have, however, seen them fail so often, have seen them fail so generally, that I have sometimes wondered whether actors did not hold mistaken notions of real life, for otherwise they could not in its portrayal on the stage stray so far from the truth. The managers appear to think that there is more money in comedies and farces of everyday life than in any heroic or romantic dramas. The actors, therefore, get what little training they have in these everyday plays; when by any chance they are called upon to act in heroic or romantic parts the spectacle is too distressing to dwell upon.

But there is no need to be hopeless over the situation, for dramatic art will not perish in America. It is hard to see how any benefit is to come from the present condition into which it has fallen. But this is merely an era in the process of evolution. Nothing stands still. In the plastic and graphic arts and the fine arts generally this is the era of renascence; the dramatic art alone lags behind. That art cannot be kept in perpetual bondage. A few strong men will some day revolt from this dishonoring slavery, and then after long years of effort the dramatic art in America will take its proper place, and the actors will be accorded their rightful position and be considered worthy to sit beside the painters, the sculptors, and the architects on terms of friendly equality.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

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